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GRAMMAR OF THE ARAMAIC
IDIOM CONTAINED IN THE
BABYLONIAN TALMUD



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OF THE
ARAMAIC IDIOM
CONTAINED IN THE
BABYLONIAN TALMUD

WITH CONSTANT REFERENCE TO
GAONIC LITERATURE

BY
C. LEVIAS

PART I.

CINCINNATI
The Bloch Publishing and Printing Company
1896

[Reprinted from

LANGUAGES AND

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TO
THE REV. DR. ISAAC M. WISE
THE VENERABLE PRESIDENT OF THE
HEBREW UNION COLLEGE
CINCINNATI, O.
RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED BY THE
AUTHOR.

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PREFACE.

The literature on the grammar of the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud is very scanty. There are only four works which require mention.¹ S. D. Luzzatto published in 1865 a short sketch of the Talmudic idiom intended as a handbook for his students.² This excellent little work, though not quite satisfactory when judged by our present standards, will always retain a certain value to the student of our subject, as the chief linguistic phenomena were noticed and, on the whole, correctly explained by the author. In 1879 Dr. G. Ruelph published his inaugural dissertation, *Zur Lautlehre der aramäisch talmudischen Dialekte. I. Die Kehllaute*, in which the author discusses the comparative treatments of the gutturals in both Talmudim. This work is a valuable contribution to Talmudic phonetics, and it is to be regretted that the author has not continued the subject. In 1888 Dr. A. Rosenberg published a dissertation, *Das aramäische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, which is a good, though not exhaustive, exposition of the verbal forms in the Talmud. Lastly, in 1895 Dr. Liebermann published his inaugural thesis: *Das Pronomen und das Adverbium des babylonisch-talmudischen Dialektes*, a work incomplete and a mere compilation. Besides the above works, Noeldeke's excellent Mandaic grammar, although not bearing directly upon our subject, contains many valuable references to the Babylonian Talmud, and has been of great help to the present author.

I also made use of the Talmud MSS. in possession of Columbia College, containing the treatises פסחים, זבחים, מועד קטן, מגילה and Alfasi's compendium of ביצה. These MSS. have some words

¹ Cf. also J. Levy, "Notes de grammaire Judéo-Babylonienne," *REJ.*, I., 212-221; and M. Lewin, *Aramäische Spruchwörter und Volkssprüche*, pp. 24-28.

² *Elementi grammat. del Caldeo-Biblico e del dial. Talm. Babilonese*, Padua, 1865. Germ. translation by M. S. Krueger, Breslau, 1873; Engl. translation by J. S. Goldammer, New York, 1887; Hebrew translation of the second part by Ch. Z. Lerner, St. Petersburg, 1880.

vocalized. Whenever that vocalization is referred to, this is expressly stated.

The author has adopted the use of the vowel-signs in order to secure a greater degree of clearness and exactness in exposition than would otherwise have been possible. This, however, does not imply any claim to having succeeded in restoring the original vocalization.

Some valuable suggestions embodied in this work I owe to my esteemed teacher, Dr. Paul Haupt, Professor of Semitic languages in the Johns Hopkins University.

INTRODUCTION.

The Babylonian Talmud is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramaic. The latter is a dialect of upper Babylonia, still spoken in the eleventh century,¹ and is closely akin to the Mandaic.² We find no special name for this dialect, it being generally spoken of as אַרְמִית or לְשׁוֹן אַרְמִי, an appellation used also for other Aramaic dialects.³

The Babylonian Talmud, or, more precisely, the Babylonian Gemārâ, was committed to writing about 500 A. D., but did not receive its final shape before the close of the eighth century. It is a compilation of literary productions extending, in the main, over a period of nearly three centuries (200–500). Earlier elements are found in the formulæ of legal documents, in extracts from *Meghillath Ta'anith* and from encyclicals of the patriarch R. Gamliel II. All these belong to the Palestinian Aramaic, and

¹ Cf. C. Levias, *AJP.*, XVI., p. 35, note 4; in reprint, p. 8, note 4.

² Noeldeke, *MG.*, xxvi, sq.

³ For other names of Judæo-Aramaic, cf. Dalman, *GJPA.*, 1 sq. and p. 340. Jepheth ben Ali in his commentary on Daniel calls Aramaic **لغة الفارسية**, which is probably a mistake for **لغة الفريسيّة** the language of the Pharisees. His compiler in the **ס' העשר** renders it by **לְשׁוֹן רַבָּנִים**. Vide D. S. Margoliouth's note on p. 7 of his edition of said commentary (*Anecdota Oroniensiæ, Semitic Series*, I.). R. Çemaḥ Gāōn in his answer with reference to Eldad, quoted by Epstein in his edition of *Eldad ha-Dânî*, p. 7, says: **אלא בתלמוד שאנשי בבל גורסין אותו בלשון ארמית ובני ארץ ישראל לשונם**; cf. Epstein's note, *ibid.*, p. 20. Maimonides in his *Dalālāt al-ḥā'irîn* (I., ch. 74) quotes the Talmudic proverb **ערבך ערבא צריך** as used **عند السريان**, which is rendered by Falaquera (**מורה המורה** p. 64) by **אצל בעלי התרגום**. Dunaš, in his **לשון כשרי** ed. Schroeter, calls also the Aramaic of the Targumim **תרגום**, while Parchon calls also Bibl. Aramaic **תרגום**. The author of **ספר השם** calls Bibl. Aramaic **לשון סוריאני** (rad. **סעד**), now **לשון ארמי** (rad. **מלח**, **מלא**), now **תרגום** (rad. **גזר**). An anonymous writer in Arabic calls our dialect **נבטית Nabatean** (cf. Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.*, VI., 69). E. Levita in his preface to his **מתורגמן** classes the Aramaic of the Bible, of the Targum Onkelos, of pseudo-Jonathan and of the Talmud Babli as **לשון בבל** as opposed to the **לשון ירושלמי** of the Targum Jerushalmi and the Talmud Jerushalmi.

are cited in this work under the designation *legal style*. To an older stage of language belong also magical formulæ, exorcisms and some proverbs. To a later period belong minor additions of the Saboraim and Geonim.¹

As might have been expected from the compilatory nature of the Talmud, its language is not uniform, but shows traces of various stages of development. Originally, the dialectical and chronological variations must have been quite marked. But in course of time these differences were smoothed down by later scholars, familiar forms and expressions being substituted for rare ones, and dialectical characteristics have thus largely been obliterated.

Traces of a more original character have been preserved in a few treatises containing laws of no practical application after the destruction of the Temple. Such treatises were not frequently studied in the schools and therefore were not subjected to the process of obliteration as much as other parts of the Talmud. Here belong, among others, Tāmīd, Me'ilā, Temūrā, Nedārīm and Nāzīr, especially the two last mentioned treatises. They are marked by older forms of the possessive suffixes כּוֹן, יֵכוֹן, הוֹן, יֵהוֹן, for כּוֹ, יֵכוֹ, הוֹ, יֵהוֹ; by the demonstratives הַזֶּה, הַהִוא, הַהִיא and the personal pronouns אֲנִי and אַתָּה; by the forms מִדַּעַם, מִדַּעַת, for the usual מִיָּד, מִיָּדָא; by the more frequent use of יָ and such expressions as תִּיבֵי for תִּיבֵי the question remains undecided, אִינְשִׁי אִיִּרִי בְּהוֹן or אִינְשִׁי מֵאֵן דָּבַר שְׂמִיָּהּ who spoke of it?!, יָאֵת well, יָאֵל or יָאֵלִי proper. I am also under the impression that the nota dativi נִדְהָלָא, so common in other treatises, is wanting in Ned. and Nāzīr.

In some places dialectical expressions are specially mentioned as such in the Talmud. A collection of such expressions has been made by Adolph Bruell in his *Fremdsprachliche Redensarten und ausdrücklich als fremdsprachlich bezeichnete Wörter in den Talmuden und Midraschim*. Leipzig, 1869.

¹For editions of the Talmud cf. Rabbinovicz, מאמר על הדפסת התלמוד in Vol. VIII. of his *Variae Lectiones*. Literary and methodological introductions have been written by H. L. Strack, *Einleitung in den Talmud*, 2d ed., 1894, and M. Mielziner, *Introduction to the Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1894. The last mentioned work is indispensable to a proper understanding of Talmudical discussions.

The lexicography of the Talmud has been treated of late by J. Levy in his *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1876–1889; by A. Kohut in his *Aruch Completum*, Vols. I.–VIII., Vienna, 1878–1892, *Supplement to Aruch Completum*, New York, 1892; and by M. Jastrow in his *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature*, London and New York, 1886, sq. (still unfinished).

The text of the Talmud is in a very unsatisfactory condition and a critical edition of it is much to be desired. An invaluable contribution to textual criticism is R. Rabinovicz's great, though unfinished work, *Variae Lectiones in Mischnam et in Talmud Babylonicum*, Vols. I.–XV., Munich, 1867–1886.

A critical edition of the Talmud is not to be expected in the near future. The preliminary work required for such an undertaking—the completion of the work begun by the late Rabinovicz, and critical editions of the early commentators and epitomizers—will require some time. For the present, the edition of single treatises in a handy form and esthetic garb, with such critical exactness as is at present attainable, is very much to be desired. Specimens of such editions have been given by Mr. M. Friedman¹ and Professor H. L. Strack.²

It is also to be hoped that the various languages and dialects contained in post-biblical Jewish literature be also separately treated lexicographically.

The language, as it has come down to us, was in the main the spoken language of the time. This is evident from the numerous proverbs and other haggadic elements recorded in the Talmud. But the scholastic terminology is essentially an artificial product of the scholars. The vocabulary contains a number of words borrowed from the Persian, but very few words of Greek and Latin. The few words of classical origin occurring in Aramaic phraseology are probably borrowed from Palestinean literature, and did not belong to the language of the people.³ Its orthog-

¹ "Babylonischer Talmud, Tractat Makkoth," in *Verhandlungen des VII., intern. Orientalisten Congresses*, Wien, 1886 (printed 1888).

² The treatises of the Mišnā: *Yômā*, *'Abôdā*, *Zārā*, *'Abôth*, and *Sabbath* (Schriften des Inst. Jud. in Berlin).

³ Upon examination of Buxtorf's Lexicon, C. R. Conder gives a list of thirty-seven Greek loan-words to be found exclusively in the Babylonian Talmud (cf. *Proc. of PEF.*, 1890, 324), but his data are not trustworthy.

raphy is in the main phonetic, but there is ground for the belief that the gutturals were less distinguished in actual speech than might be inferred from the orthography.

Further literature in the dialect of the Babylonian Talmud is to be found in portions of the liturgy, in the later *Midrašim*¹ and in the works of the Geonim. The latter extend over a period of about 400 years (c. 750–1138). To this class belong the *שאלות ותשובות* of 'Alhai of Šabḥâ, ed. princ. Venice, 1546; *הקדמות גדולות* of Simon Qiyārâ, ed. pr. Venice, 1548. Another version of this work was published by I. Hildesheimer, Berlin, 1888–1892;² *אגרות* latest edition by A. Neubauer in *Medieval Jewish Chronicles* (*Anecdota Oxoniensia, Semitic Series*, I., 4, Oxford, 1887) and the Aramaic *תשובות הגאונים*, for the literature of which cf. Z. Frankel, *Entwurf einer Geschichte der Litteratur der nachtalmudischen Responsen*, Breslau, 1865, and J. Mueller, *מפתח לתשובות הגאונים*, Berlin, 1891.

The language of the Gaonic literature shows the influence of the Targum; and this is especially the case in the forms of the possessive and enclitic personal suffixes, and in the retention of the final *nûn* in the plural of nouns, verbs, and participles.

¹ Cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

² This work contains older elements.

I. SCRIPT AND ORTHOGRAPHY

SCRIPT.

*Letters.*¹—§ 1. The alphabet used in the Talmud, the number of letters, and their phonetic values are the same as in Hebrew.

Vowels.—§ 2. No vowel-signs are used in the Talmud. Traditional pronunciation employs the whole variety of vowel-sounds found in the Masoretic text of the Bible. קֶזֶל is rare, the preference being given to צִיר or הִירֶק.

Numerals.—§ 3. The letters of the alphabet are also used for numerals. א-ט are used for units; ז-י, for tens; ק-ת, for 100–400. Compound numbers are expressed by composition, the larger numeral being placed on the right: יב 12, לד 34, קכג 123. Numbers higher than 499 are expressed: 500 by תק; 600, תר; 700, תש; 800, תת; 900, תתק, etc.² When the letters are used within the text with numerical value they always have the sign of abbreviation (§ 6): כ"ה, 28; ג', 3; קל"ה, 135.³ When used for pagination, the sign of abbreviation is omitted.

Reading of Numerals.—§ 4. When the number consists of one or of two letters, the names of the letters are read. Thus, ג' is not read תִּלְתָּא or תִּלְתָּ, which it represents, but גִּמְלָה; so ב"ה, ר"ה are read שִׁין בֵּית הָא, רִישׁ הָא. Numbers containing more than two signs are read either as above, or are vocalized; e. g., לְתַקִּי, 900; תַּרְיִג, 613; רַמְ"ח, 248.

¹ For the names of the letters cf. Hamburger, *Real-Encycl. f. Bibel u. Talmud, Supplem.*, article "Grammatik." Notice also the usual pronunciation of the following names of letters Alleph, GimmeL, Dalled, Hêth, Têth, Yûd, Kâph, Lammed, Sammekh, Çaddîq (Berliner, *Beiträge zur hebr. Gram.*, 22), Qûph. TG., ed. Harkavy, § 26 זֶן for זִין, § 49 has לְכֶד for לְמֶד (cf. Samaritan Labad, Petermann, *Gram. sam.*, p. 2, written לְבֶאֱת, Munk, *TM.* 10); Col. MS. (Meg. end) voc. גִּרְמֶל; HG. has רַא for רֶאֱרִי. The forms of the names of the letters in post-Gaonic literature I shall give in my *Dictionary of Philological Terminology in Hebrew and Aramaic*, now in preparation.

² In later Hebrew thousands are expressed by units with dots over them. Thus אָ, 1000; בָּ, 2000; הָ, 5000. Numbers from 500–900 are expressed in Masoretic writings by the final letters ק-ך. In writing, the final letters are always written on the left: גִּץ = 903.

³ In MSS. we find sometimes other signs used. Thus תַּרְיִג תַּרְיִג"ג may be written תַּרְיִג or תַּרְיִגָּ.

Diacritical Signs.—§ 5. שָׁבָא and דָּגֶשׁ¹ like the vowel signs do not occur in the text. The end of a section is indicated by a double point (:).² The same sign marks the end of a quotation from the Mišnā at the head of a section. The employment of this sign is not always consistent. Minor subdivisions are not marked.

§ 6. A word not written out in full is followed by a slanting stroke above the line.³ Thus, גַּמְלָה, רַבִּי or רַב, for רַבִּי, גַּמְלָה. If two or more consecutive words are abbreviated a double stroke is written in the middle. Thus, קַמְלָה, מַשְׁמַע לָךְ, מֵאָה שָׁנָה. The signs are employed to mark letters used as numerals (§ 3) or the names of the letters of the alphabet. Thus דַּלֶּת, גִּמְלָה, בֵּית, אֶלֶף 'Aleph, Beth, Gimel, Daleth, to distinguish them from אֶלֶף thousand, בֵּית house, etc.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

Vowels.—§ 7. The vowels *ō, ô, ǝ, û* and *ũ* are invariably indicated by אֶקְטוּל I shall kill; מוֹתָא death; אַוְהַרִי another (f.); אָמְרוּ they said; מַנְבֵּרָא man. The mater lectionis ו is sometimes omitted in verbs with consonantal ו as second stem-consonant: לֹא־שָׁוִי to make even.

§ 8. The vowels *ē, ê, ě, î, i* and *ĩ* are usually indicated by the mater lectionis י: תַּעֲבִיד thou wilt do; בֵּיתָא house; אֶפֶס I shall go up; אָמְרוּ they say; מֵית died; אִי־אִן if; אֵיזִיל or זִיל go thou. But the י is sometimes omitted. This is generally the case with words common to both Aramaic and Hebrew; e. g., מִשְׁלֵם pays; מְפָרֵשׁ explains; מְתָרֵן answers.⁵

§ 9. The vowel *ā* or *â*, when final, is marked by א; less frequently by ה. The latter is usually the case in the feminine ending of the verb. Inter-consonantal *ā* or *â* is seldom indicated by א, never by ה. This is the case in MSS. and later literature more frequently than in the printed text: מַלְכָּתָא queen; שַׁבָּא Sabbath, week; בִּישָׁא evil, bad; שְׁכִיבָא is about to die; בְּשִׁילָה

¹ For the etymology of the term cf. C. LEVIAS, *AJP.*, xvi, 23-37, and *AM. JOURN. OF SEM. LANG. AND LIT.*, XIII., pp. 79-80.

² In MSS. one point is sometimes used instead.

³ In MSS. we find frequently instead of the stroke a dot on the last letter.

⁴ א to mark צרר is found only in יִהְיֶה he will be, תִּהְיֶה she will be, which belong to Mišnic Hebrew.

⁵ Cf. also LEVY, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. יָרַת.

she cooked; בָּיָאָה she is able; אָמְרָה she says; אָיִן is fit; אָיִן־אָיִן־אָיִן rows; בָּלִיאָן are full. The adjective ending *ā'ā* is always spelled אָאָ .

§ 10. פָּתָה is generally not indicated. Exceptions are בָּן = בֵּן who, in order to distinguish it from בֵּן from; and verbs with a guttural as third stem-consonant, and consonantal ן as second stem-consonant, in order to mark the *a*-vowel: לִישְׁוֹנֶה let him jump; בְּדוֹנֶה goes about.

§ 11. The diphthongs *āi* and *āi*, when final, are generally indicated by אָ , seldom by יִ ; when inter-consonantal, by יִ , rarely by אָ : נִפְשָׁהּ הָדָא rejoice my soul; פְּתִיחָהּ last (f.); קָאִי־מָאִי stands.

§ 12. Final *au* occurs only in לֹא not, a contraction of אָהָה + לֹא ; inter-consonantal *au* is indicated by וִ : תִּרְדָּו tread-ing; דְּוִרְקָה exactness; שְׁוִרְקָה thorn (§ 80).

§ 13. Vocal *ševā* is frequently denoted by יִ , e. g., עֲשִׂיָּהּ do, אִישִׁ man, שִׁיָּהּ tarrying, פִּיָּהּ running about. This is especially the case in the imperfect, at times also in the infinitive and participle of עֲשִׂיָּהּ and other verbs, and was probably pronounced as a full vowel.¹ According to Dalman,² the Sabbioneta edition of Onkelos and the Masora of that Targum frequently vocalize the prefixes of the imperfect and infinitive of עֲשִׂיָּהּ verbs with *i* followed by *dāghēš* of the first stem-consonant, or, in case of resolution, by *ē*, by analogy with עֲשִׂיָּהּ verbs. To this he remarks in a note: "The tendency of the forms *q^etāl*, *q^etūl* to pass into *qittāl*, *qittūl*, is also elsewhere to be observed (cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, 196). . . . Mere lengthening of *ševā* to a full vowel may besides be attributable to careless speaking (cf. Safir, *'Eben Sappir*, I. 55 a)." To this I would add, that in the recently discovered oldest system of vocalization we find *i*, *ē*, or *ā* for vocal *ševā*, the latter having no special sign at all.³ It seems, therefore, that the development of *ševā* in Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic is of a later date than in Syriac.

¹ Cf. C. Levias, *AJP.* XVI. 30 (reprint p. 3). Cf. also Sal. Geiger, *Zion*, II. 6: *Heḥālāḥ*, II. 153; A. Geiger, *Nachgel. Schriften*, V., Hebr. part, p. 7 sq.

² *Grammatik des jüd.-pal. Aramäisch*, § 70, 3.

³ Cf. Friedlander, *PSBA.*, XVIII., March, 1896, p. 90.

II. PHONOLOGY.

A. CONSONANTS.¹

General Remarks.—§ 14. As in the cognate Aramaic dialects ד represents both original ט and ז; *e. g.*, ד: דִּבְשָׁא honey, דִּקְנָא judge: ז: דִּין this, דִּקְנָא beard.—ה represents both ח and خ; *e. g.*, ח: חֲכִים wise, חֲלֵמָא dream, חֲמִירָא ass; خ: אַחֲרִינָא another, חֲסִי to sign; חֲתִיר² to break in.—ט represents ט and ط; *e. g.*, ט: טַעְמָא taste, reason, טִמְא to be unclean; ط: טוּפְרָא nail, טוּנָא load, טוּרָא mountain.³—ע represents ع, غ, and ض; *e. g.*, ע: עִזָּא ring, עִלְמָא world, עִשְׂרָא ten; غ: עִרְבָא raven, עִרְבָא cloud, עָלָא to enter, go in; ض: עִירָא egg, עִירָא or אִירָא to happen, befall, עִירָא disease.—ש has been retained in אִירִשְׁתָּא (also אִירִסְתָּא) a certain meal, בִּשְׂרָא meat, flesh, עִשְׂרָא to compel, עִשְׂרִין ten, עִשְׂרִין twenty (but סִר, סִרִּי, in compound numbers), שִׁבְעָא to be satiated, שַׁטָּנָא Satan, שִׁנְאִיתָא hatred (but סִנִּי to hate), שִׁפְפָא lip, שִׁפְפָא mustache, שִׁרָא to burn, swallow, gulp down, and perhaps שִׁרְבִלִי a certain bird; but the latter is doubtful. In other cases it appears as ס.—ח represents ט and ט; *e. g.*, ח: חֲתִיר to open, חֲתִיר to die, חֲתִיר to drink; ט: חֲתִיר or חֲתִיר to return, חֲתִיר to weigh. In the few cases in which these rules are violated, we have loan-words from other dialects.

Pronunciation.—§ 15. The original pronunciation of the various sounds did not, in all probability, differ from the cognate dialects and from Hebrew. But in a later period the pronuncia-

¹ Cf. Haupt, *ZDMG.*, 34, 737 sq.; BA., I., 249 sq.; Dalman, *GJPA.*, 41 sq.

² This word is connected with Arab. حَتَر. Its ח is infixed as that in עֲתִיר or שִׁתִּיר.

³ This is the Arab. ظَهْر back, Assyr. ʿīru high. Cf. Arab. ظَهْرُ الْجَبَلِ the top of the mountain and the use of Arab. عَلَم, Heb. גִּבְעָא hill, the latter connected with גִּב back. For a similar change from Arab. عִיר to Aram. עִיר cf. Arab. قَهْر and Talm. קָרָא, Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, 42.

tion of some of the sounds seems to have varied. This is evident from the variations in spelling and from the transcription we find in Arabic for Aramaic loan-words.¹

Gutturals.—§ 16. The Arabs transcribed ה by *ṣ*, ח by *ḥ* or *ḥ̣*, and ע by *ʿ*. The pronunciation of ח was probably, as with all Eastern Arameans, that of the voiceless guttural spirant *ḥ̣*. The words transcribed are either taken from some western dialect or borrowed at a later period.

§ 17. As appears from the Talmud (Meg. 24 *b*, M. Q. 16 *b*, Ker. 8 *a*), the Babylonians did not properly distinguish the gutturals in their pronunciation. The retention of the various gutturals in script is, therefore, merely historic spelling.² Hence, in words whose etymology is not transparent, we frequently find phonetic spelling. Thus, in *זהר* *to be cautious*,³ *זהר זהר* *one another, together*, *הִרְיֶק* *to imprison*, *הָרַח* *to return*, *מְהִילָא* *sieve*, *נָהַל* *to sift*, *הַיִּצָּא* *shrubby*, and in other words we have ה for etymological ח.⁴ In *אִשְׁלָא* *pounded grain*, *אִשְׁתָּא* *name of a canal*, *אִשְׁתָּא* *a kind of fish*, we have א for ח. In *תלע* or *תלה* *to crack*, we have ח as well as ע for it. In *צוה* *to dry up*, we have ח for א. For ח we have א or ע in *אָדָא*, *עָדָא* *this*, *אָפֶךְ* *to turn*; while for ע we have very frequently א: *אָבָא* (Col. MS., Meg. 12 *b*, *גָּבָא* alongside of *אָבָא*) *thicket*, *אָרְבִּי* *twigs*, *אִרְבָּנָא* *bulrushes*, a. fr. Cf. Noeldeke, *loc. cit.*; also Nestle, *Marginalien u. Materialien*, p. 69.⁵

The fact that post-vocalic ע is pronounced as a vowel shows even more clearly that the retention of the gutturals is in many cases merely graphic. Thus *טַיְמָא* is pronounced *ṭáimo*. This points to an earlier *טַיְמָא* just as in Assyrian.⁶

¹ Cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, Introduction.

² Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, 58.

³ This word has nothing to do with *זהר* *to shine*, but is the Arab. *ḥazz*. For similar metathesis, cf. Barth, *ES.*, 3, 4 (*חרש* and *מנח*).

⁴ Cf. also Harkavy's note, p. 356, of his edition of the *TG*.

⁵ A similar promiscuous use of the gutturals is found in Phœnician (Schroeder, *Phœniz. Spr.*, 79 sq.), Samaritan (Uhlemann, *Inst. lingu. Samar.*, I, 13 sq.), Neo-Syriac (Noeldeke, *NSG.*, 56 sq.), and Palest. Aramaic (Dalman, *op. cit.*, 44).

⁶ In the same way Hebrew words like *מַעֲלָה*, *מַאֲמָר*, *מַעֲרִיב*, *מַעֲמָד*, *מַאֲכָל*, and the like are pronounced *máilo*, *máimor*, *máiriv*, *máimod*, *máichol*. But *מַעֲרָכָה* *mārócho*. The pronunciation of the above and similar words is retained also in the plural in spite of the change of accent. Thus, *máimórim*, *máichólím*, *máimódós*.

Palatals.—§ 18. Initial ם seems to have been sometimes pronounced נ to judge from a few cases where נ is actually written and from the fact that after the precative ל the prefix ם of the imperfect, even if it is followed by an *a*-vowel, is frequently dropped. Thus, אֲבִשׁוֹנָא *dried ears of corn*, אֲבִלָא *willow-basket*, דְּאִתְיִלְדָּן *that will be born*, Ned. 30 b, דְּאִתְיִקְוֹת *that they gather*. B. Q. 113 b; נ for ם is also written in a few forms of the verb יָחַב *to sit*, לְשַׁבַּע *let him cause to swear*, לְחַלֵּן *let him pass*. On the other hand, we find at times the ם marked as consonantal by doubling it.

§ 19. ג and כ like ב, ד, פ and ת had a double pronunciation as mutae and as spirants. ג is transcribed by the Arabs generally as ج, sometimes as ق; כ is generally غ, sometimes by ج or ك; פ is כ, כּ is خ. So we find also in the Talmud פִּיכְלִי and קִיכְלִי *partridges*, כִּרְכַּשׁ and קִרְכַּשׁ *to knock*, פִּרְכָּשָׁתָא and קִרְכָּשָׁתָא *shepherd's bell*, פִּרְכָּשָׁתָא = קִרְכָּשָׁתָא *head*, from כָּפַח *to bend, nod*, properly *noddle*; cf. Hebr. קָדַח וְקָדַח *to jump*, written promiscuously. ג is today not distinguished from כּ.

Linguals.—§ 20. ה is rendered in Arabic by ح, ד by ذ; ת by ט, ט by ט. In traditional pronunciation ט is pronounced like ה and ת like ט. ט is not distinguished in modern pronunciation from ת. The ר was evidently a lingual, as it could be doubled.¹

Sibilants.—§ 21. ז is ז; ס and ש are س; צ is ص, and ש, ש, rarely س. In the Talmud ש is usually carefully distinguished, while the other sibilants are at times used indiscriminately. Thus, פִּתְיָא and פִּתְיָא *street-well* (V. L., B. B. 8 a); אֲתִקְוִלָּא *flipping*; אִתְיָאָתָא, אִתְיָאָתָא *rows*, F. MS., B. B. 12 a; אִתְיָאָא, אִתְיָאָא *a certain quarter of meat*; אִתְיָאָא, אִתְיָאָא *creeper, vine*; אִתְיָאָא, אִתְיָאָא *ear of corn*; צִייר, צִייר *binds*, M. MS., AZ., 28 b; עִיִּצָּא, עִיִּצָּא *pol*; עִקֵּס for עִקֵּן *to sting*; אִתְיָאָא and אִתְיָאָא *a certain meal*; עִסְרִין and עִסְרִין *twenty*; רַפְּשִׁי and רַפְּשִׁי *to tread*.

Labials.—§ 22. ב is rendered in Arabic transcription by ب; װ by و, sometimes by و. ו and װ are rendered by و and م;

¹ Cf. Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, 86, and אִתְיָאָא, *HG.*, 232.

פ by פ, sometimes by ב. With the exception of two or three words where ׀ is written for etymological ב, the Talmud retains ב. But ב and ׀ are written indiscriminately in foreign words. ב and פ are sometimes written indiscriminately. פופשני and פופשני a species of tamed doves, פפוי and פפוי excrements, מלפפא, מלפפא eel.

Dāghēš and Rāphē.—§ 23. The rules for the pronunciation of בגדכפת as tennes, or mediae, and as spirantized are about the same as in Hebrew and Syriac; but the following may be noticed:

a) Unlike the Syriac, בגדכפת has no dāghēš after a diphthong; e. g., פיתא, איבו.

b) The ת in the feminine ending תא is often not spirantized when a vowelless consonant precedes, even if that consonant be preceded by a long vowel; e. g., שאלתא.

c) בגדכפת are not spirantized to avoid difficulty of pronunciation; e. g., שותפתא, שותיקתא, אפהישו, סתתא, מסתתא, for שותפתא, שותיקתא, אפהישו, סתתא, מסתתא.

d) פ is pronounced hard in the proper names פפא Papa and פפי Papi.

CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.—*Gutturals.*—§ 24. א changes to א in the active participle Qal of ער verbs and of verbs following their analogy. Also in the Pa'ēl and Ithpa'al of ער verbs. Thus, קיים stands, ציית listens, מייח dies, צייר binds, פייח compels, הייש feels pain, צייל enters, שייח asks, שייח he left, omitted, אשתייר remained. The forms צאית, קאית, etc., are only graphical variants. The א must have also been pronounced א in אאית interstice, and אאית Alephs. Notice also שייח remainder. Verbs ל'א have passed entirely into verbs ל'א.

§ 25. ה changes to ו or א in מלחא, מלחא he, she, lit. this one (§ 177), קחא to be blunt, תחא to be astonished. In the last two cases we may have metathesis rather than phonetic change. תחא may also stand for תחא. תחא rich landlord, וזחא.

§ 26. ה appears frequently as ה: ה foliage of a palm, Arab. حوص; תחא thorn, Syr. ܚܝܬ; ה a proper name = ה; ה;

¹ Cf. Syriac ܚܝܬ and ܚܝܬ and Palestinian אהבת = איבת, Dalman, 69.

הָיָה to return, Hebr. הָיָה; cf. §§ 16, 17. Sometimes it interchanges with a sibilant: הָלִיקוּסָתָא, סָלִיקוּסָתָא.¹

§ 27. צ regularly changes to ס when there is another צ (= ض) in the same word: צָרַע = عرض to happen; סָצָא = אָצָא = Arab. ضبع hyena. Cf. also § 17. In הָיָה to laugh, we have ה for צ. Whenever צ corresponds to Arab. ض it must have been originally = غ. This would explain more easily its interchange with ה and פ.² Verbs לָצַח have in a few instances passed into verbs לָחַץ.

Palatals.—§ 28. ה interchanges with ק (§ 18), with כ: הָצָא = קָצָא door-step; cf. § 51. In הָיָה couple, the ה becomes י, as in modern Arabic and Syriac. It changes perhaps to ד in שָׁדַר, שָׁדַר to send. But the latter is more probably = صَدَرَ. In אָבִי for אָבִי (§ 174) we have the change of ה to א.

§ 29. כ and ק frequently interchange: קָרְשִׁי, פְּרִשִׁי vetch; קְרוּשִׁיתָא, פְּרוּשִׁיתָא dealers in vegetables; קְרוּשִׁיתָא, פְּרוּשִׁיתָא balls, cakes. The interchange with ב frequently found in the texts is probably due to graphical errors.

§ 30. Intervocalic י changes to א in the adjective ending תָּא. Thus, תְּאַתָּא the last, קְמַתָּא the first, לִיבָתָא the Libyan, for *תְּאַתָּא, *קְמַתָּא, *לִיבָתָא.³ In verbs: אִתְּשַׁתָּא she was healed, Keth., 62 b; אִתְּשַׁתָּא were changed, Col. MS., MQ., 25 b. But generally intervocalic י is elided.

Dentals.—§ 31. ד usually corresponds to Arab. د and ذ; but occasionally ת appears, even when it corresponds to د. Thus, תָּ, תָּ then, now (§ 182), תָּבַח to slaughter⁴; תָּבָא loss; תָּבָא dripping; תָּבָא twigs; תָּבָא sorb-plant-

¹ Cf. Syriac ܠܝܟܘܣܬܐ = ܠܝܟܘܣܬܐ, Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*, add. ad p. 112. Hebrew ܠܝܟܘܣܬܐ may stand for ܠܝܟܘܣܬܐ, but with regard to its Assyrian equivalent, ܠܝܟܘܣܬܐ may be original. Cf. prothetic ܠ in Syr. ܠܝܟܘܣܬܐ.

² For this change cf. Bibl. Aramaic ܐܪܬܐ earth; in some dialects, cf. D. H. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Nöldeke, *MG.*, § 66; Munk, *TM.*, p. 41, n. 127. Ethiopic ܣܐܩܕܩܐܐ, to cry, lament, is a Saph'el of *qôdqa = ܣܐܩܕܩܐܐ. One is tempted to compare also Judeo-German "koiken" to howl, although it is difficult to see the historical connection. Cf. also ܠܝܟܘܣܬܐ, *Hg.*, ed. princ. = ܠܝܟܘܣܬܐ cast bubbles. Similar is the interchange of ד and ܐ: Hebr. ܐܬܝܕܐ, Syr. ܐܬܝܕܐ almond. Cf. § 36.

³ Cf. Jaeger, *BA.*, I., 489, 459.

⁴ Cf. Nöldeke, *MG.*, 43; D. H. Müller, *Inscr. von Sendschirli*, 403q., 65.

tion; טַרְדִּינָא, טַרְדִּינָא wardrobe; זְבוּרָא bee, Hebr. אֲדִילָא; אֲדִילָא young gazelle. In דָּא דָּא (§185) it corresponds to Arab. ضَعُ ضَعُ.

In the following examples we have not an interchange of ל and ד, but a rare syntactical use of ד, which can be paralleled in Assyrian: לֹא דְמִימְרָא does it not mean to say, Col. MS., Zeb. 50 a; וְתוֹרִי דְרִידָא וְחִמְרִי דְעִסְקָא and oxen for ploughing and dates for trade, Sabb. 19 b.² In the first example there may also be dissimilation due to the preceding לֹא.³

§32. ט usually corresponds to Arab. ط and ظ, but occasionally it interchanges with ז; thus, מִצִּי and מִצִּי. In טלע it corresponds to 'Omanee Arabic ضلع to limp.⁴

§33. ת sometimes interchanges with ד: בְּנִדְתָּא the Bagdadian; קְרִדְוִי, קְרִתְוִי; לִפְתָּא, לִפְתָּא turnip. Cf. also §21.

Liquids.—§34. ל interchanges with נ in the precativ participle of the imperfect: נְהִי let him be, for לְהִי; מִדְּוִי sufficient for irrigation, H. MS., B. B. 8 a, for בְּדְוִי.⁵ לוּמָא, Latin nummus, coin. Cf. also §36.—עֲלָא leech appears also as עֲלָא.

§35. נ changes to ר in רִשְׁפָּא fowler. Compare also טַמְרָא to hide with Hebr. טָמַן. A similar change would be in בֶּר son, בֶּר daughter, if they are identical with בֶּן, בֵּת; but this is doubtful. Final ך changes to ם in מַנְשֵׁימַה he makes water, O. MS., Sabb. 134 a.

§36. ר appears frequently as ד. This may be simply a graphical error. But in view of the fact that the change of ר to

¹ Cf. also Arab. دَبُورٌ alongside of دَبُورٌ.

² Cf. the variant in the פתשגן to Onkelos, Lev. 15:33 וְלִדְדָאִיב for וְלִדְדָאִיב, and in later literature: בְּדִהִי = בְּדִהִי HG. 29; דְּרִבְנָא = דְּרִבְנָא ibid. 108; דְּרִבְנָא = דְּרִבְנָא ibid. 373.

³ The stock example for the interchange of ל and ד has always been אָדָּר = אָדָּר. But from the fact that the word occurs only in two forms, אָדָּר and אָדָּר, for both genders, and only in the sense of the present, and used only in the set phrase אָדָּר לְטַעְמִיָּה and only in a metaphorical sense, it is evident that such use of the word is only a piece of school-wisdom, based on a wrong interpretation of a biblical passage. A root אָדָּר is a mere fiction of our lexicographers. Later Hebrew literature abounds in parallels of a similar kind. Suffice it to point to פְּעֻנָּה to disclose, קִנְיָא end, and לִבּ מִגְנָה grief. A full collection of such words would be of considerable interest.

⁴ Cf. בִּרְטָא egg in Jer. Šebu., III. 34 d; but this may also be equal to בִּרְטָא with change of ת to ט.

⁵ For the same phenomenon cf. TG., ed. Harkavy, §55. Cf. also Syriac ܢܡ and Hebrew-Aram. נתן to give.

§ 40. ש interchanges with ת in שקל, תקל, *to weigh, be worth*. With ס in בשי, בסי *to wash*.

Labials.—§ 41. ב. On interchange of ב with ו and פ cf. § 22. In בישן for בישן *Bêth Š'ân* we have מ for ב. ערקוב = Hebr. ערקוב, Arab. عرقوب.

§ 42. מ. Assyrian מ appears sometimes as ב, sometimes as ו: עליו *upon*, ארצא *west*,¹ שירבנא *cypress*.² מ changes to נ in נהר inf. Aph'el of הדר *to return*, B. Q. 81 b, and in נשתרש *melting*, Sabb. 110 b; in the plural endings of pronouns, nouns and verbs. It stands for נ in בוטנא *terebinth*.

§ 43. ו. Initial ו has been retained only in the following words: וו *Wau*, וי *woe! alas!* ואלי *proper* (alongside of אלי), ורדא *rose* and its derivatives, וצא *meeting*, וצא *tart*, and in a few proper names. In all other cases it has changed to י.

DOUBLING.

§ 44. Doubling takes place in traditional pronunciation in about the same way as in Syriac:

a) As characteristic of certain grammatical formations; *e. g.*, in the Intensive stems.

b) To show a double consonant; *e. g.*, גבי, אמן.

c) As compensation for an assimilated consonant; *e. g.*, שתא *year*, תא *thou*.

d) As compensation for a shortened long vowel; *e. g.*, עליו *upon*, נמי (§ 182).³

e) To lengthen artificially a short word; *e. g.*, פומא *mouth*, אבא *father*.

f) To preserve a short vowel; *e. g.*, לשנא *tongue*, Arab. لسان, תיתורא *bridge*, Assy. titûru.

g) Doubling is retained at the end of a word in תא *thou*, in the pronominal ending of the participle, אמרת *thou sayest*, and in רב *Rabbi*, usually pronounced רבב.⁴

¹ The Assyrian equivalent is amurrû (cf. Jensen, *ZA.*, X., 339 sq.) and ארצא stands for ארצא.

² *TG.*, ed. Harkavy. § 49, has לבד for למד *Lamed*. דא *to see* may also be connected with the Syriac ܕܐ.

³ The transcription of proper names in the old versions and in Josephus shows us a number of similar cases; *e. g.*, Saddûk, Abessalôm, Abennér, Annân, for אבשלום, אבדוק, אבנר. But, in cases like Abessalôm and Abennér, the versions may have taken them to be composed of אבן (= בן) + שולום or נר.

⁴ Cf. Nöldeke, *SG.*, § 23, H.

Resolution of Doubling.—§ 45. To judge from the cognate dialects, resolution of doubling must have frequently taken place. In a case of resolution, the preceding short vowel was either dropped, or lengthened, or retained intact by the insertion of a liquid. In the case of vowel-lengthening we can only know that a resolution has taken place when the vowel changes its quality, as from הִירֶק to צִירִי, or from פֶּתַח to קָמִיץ, not otherwise.

INSERTION OF CONSONANTS.—*Insertion of a Liquid.*—§ 46.

a) מִן: אֶמְפֹּזָא *nut*.

b) נִן: הִינָפָא *feast*; פֶּנְדָא *pot*; גֶּנְדָר *to roll*; אֶסְתִּינְדָרָא *vice-roy*, Pers. *ustadâr*, and other words.

c) ר: In the so-called *Par'el* forms: בִּרְזֵל *to shake*, גֶּרְבֵּל *to mix*, גֶּרְדֵּם *to cut*, הִרְזֵק *to imprison*, שֶׁרְבֵב *to let hang down*, שֶׁרְפֵט *to stretch oneself flat*, פֶּרְפֵּשׁ or קֶרְקֵשׁ *to strike, tingle*, פֶּרְנִשְׁתָּא or קֶרְקִשְׁתָּא *shepherd's bell*, גֶּרְגִּשְׁתָּא *clod*, הֶרְדָּקָא *school-boy*, קֶרְקֵבָן *crop, craw*.¹

NOTE.—In words of foreign origin ש seems to be similarly inserted: בִּשְׁקַר *he searched*, Mandaic the same; אִישְׁכָפָא *saddler*, Assy. *aškapu* = Arab أَكْفَ *cf.* Assy. *iškaru* = *ikkaru* = אִפְרָא *peasant*, all before a *k*-sound.

Insertion of ה.—§ 47. A ה is sometimes inserted in short words in order to make them triconsonantal. Thus אֲבִהֶן *fathers*, *parents*, plural of אֶבָא; אֲמִהָא *bond-maid*; אֲמִהָהּ *the status of bond-maid*; גִּלְהִי *flashes* (גִּלְיִ), מִנְהָא *mint*; שְׁלִיָּה *end*; אֲמִהָתָא *flanks*; אֲמִהָתָא *mothers*.

Insertion of a Semivowel.—§ 48. In the plural of the noun י or ם is in a few cases inserted before the ending of תָּא to avoid an hiatus.²

ASSIMILATION.

§ 49. A consonant may be assimilated to a preceding or following consonant either entirely or partially. In the latter case the partially assimilated consonant may influence the adjoining consonant so that the resulting assimilation is reciprocal.

Complete Assimilation.—§ 50. 1. The ם is progressively assimilated in the reflexive stems of verbs שׁ—frequently in

¹ Cf. Fleischer in *Levy's Dict.*, IV., 484 b.

² Cf. Sachau, *Skizze des Felleht-Dialekts von Mosul*, p. 15.

the Ithpe'el, more rarely in the Ithpa'al.¹ Thus, אֶתְּמַר *was said*, אִתְּסַר *was forbidden*, אֶתְנַחַּה *he sighed*, אֶתְמַרָּא *was said*, אִתְפַּסַּר *was healed*, דִּי־לִידוֹ *that have been born* (Ned. 30 b), לִיבְפוֹרֵי *to cheer oneself up with wine* (Meg. 7 b, Col. MS. לְאִיבְסוֹרֵי), לְקַלְקוּלִי (M. MS. Er. 49 a, eds. לְאִי־קַלְקוּלִי), אַלְתָּר *on the spot*, at once, for אֶתֶר. In the last word the ל is not doubled. מִנָּא *whence* for מִנְפָּאן, from מִן אֵן; רַבִּינָא a proper name for רַבִּינָא = רַב אֲבִינָא.

2. ה is regressively assimilated in אֵינִין *they*, הֵנִי *these*, בִּתְּרִיתָּן *their being dispersed* (eds. A. Z., 10 b), מִשְׁתַּלְּתִּיתוּ *you are tired* (A. Z., 72 b); אֶדְוִי *to cut to pieces*.

3. ה is assimilated in מִסְתַּחַּא *bath* (orig. מִסְתַּחַּא, § 90); מִפָּא *shovel*, לִישְׁלוֹפִיָּהוּ O. MS., Sabb. 98 b, שְׁלַחָה; תַּתָּא *below*; פּוּתָא a certain dish (= פּוּתָא).

4. ז is assimilated in אֶתְבִּידָא *was done*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60 a, שֶׁב *seven*, which stands for שֶׁב* = šabbu = šab'u. Similarly תִּשְׁ *nine*, V. L. Taan. 13 b, for tišš'u = tiš'u.² אַפָּא *hyena*, for אֶפָּא (§ 27). אִיבִי (= אִי־בִי) Col. MS., Zeb. 6 ab, 14 b, תִּיבִי *ibid.* 20 b; מִיבִי *ibid.* 18 b. By progressive assimilation מִבְּרָא *ferry*, מִבְּרָא *ferry-man*.

5. ל is assimilated in many forms of the verb סַלַּק *to go up*, *ascend*: לִפְסַק, תִּפְסַק, for לִיסְלַק, תִּיסְלַק; in אֶ־ *upon* (§ 170), דִּקְתָּא *sharp-shooter* וְזַק or זַלַּק.

6. נ is assimilated in אַתָּ *thou*, אַתּוֹן *ye*, אַתְתָּא *woman*, אַפָּא *face*, עִזָּא *goat*, אֶבּוּבָא *flute*, שֶׁתָּא *year*, מִשּׁוּל *on account of*, מִסְקָן V. L. Pes. 3 b, in verbs פִּנֵּן, and in verbs לִנֵּן before אֶ־, הֶ־, הֵ־; also in מִן *from*.

7. ט is assimilated in מִנְשָׂא *heap*, M. MS., Er. 14 b, קָמָא *first*, קָמִי *before*, שֶׁתָּא *six*, שֶׁתִּין *sixty*; אֶ־ *until* (§ 182).

8. ח is assimilated in יְקִיטוּ *ye hold*, eds. Pes. 110 b; שְׁמִיתִיהָ *I put him under the ban*, M. Q. 17 a; אֶחָדָה *hast pleased*, Hull 137 b; אִיכָא *there is* (אִיתָא פָּא) (sic) *there is not* (= לֹא אִיתָא פָּא); in the reflexive stems not עִי or פִּי before dentals or sibilants, and, by analogy, before all consonants: אִי־בִיבִן

¹ Cf. Haupt, *SFG.*, 10, 1; *AEI.*, 10.

² Cf. Haupt, *SFG.*, 10 1.

was sold, אִיָּדָר took heed, אִישׁ־בִּשָּׁא was persuaded, אִי־תַנְּנִי they made profit, a. o.

9. מ is assimilated in מַעְרָא merchant, Assyrian tamgaru; אֲרִי־לָקָא artisan, Assyrian dimgallu, with prothetic א and inserted ו; מַלְלָא = Assyrian šalamtū.

Partial Assimilation.—§ 51. a) א is partially assimilated to ט, צ and כ, and becomes ע in טַנְּנִי Arab. (طَانِي), תַּנְּנִי tanners, פֹּתֵלָא pot,¹ שִׁכְלָא a measure.²

b) ה is assimilated to שׁ in פִּשְׁוֹרָא joist, Assyrian gušūru. כ to י and ח in זַגְוִי־תַא glass, Heb. זְבִיכִית; פֹּתֵלָא for פֹּתֵלָא a certain bird. ק to ר in גְּרִי־צָא twist, קִרְץ.³

c) ת is partially assimilated to י in the reflexive stems of verbs פִּי־אִיָּדָר he took heed, אִיָּדָקִיק he attended, and without transposition אִיָּדָוֹטִיר it seemed small, 'Ēn Ya'aq. Sanh. 95a. To ל and ר:⁴ in הֹלֶטָא hod, הֹטָרָא small, (§ 56), פִּי־טָרִי name of a place. To צ: in טַצְדָקָא excuse, טַצְחָר white spot, and in verbs פִּי־אִצְטָרָה was necessary, אִצְטָרָה he grieved. To ח: in טַחַר to press. To ד: in לְהוֹדָלָהֵל Alfasi B. B. 8a.⁵ To ק: in קַטַּל to kill, קַטִּינָא small, קִישְׁטָא truth.

d) ס is assimilated to a liquid in עִזְזָלָא cradle, טִיִּיָּה proud,⁶

Reciprocal Assimilation.—§ 52. a) Here belong מִזְנָא or מִזְנָה (§ 92), Hebrew מִסָּה and מִזְנֶה,⁷ ס first assimilated to ז, then כ to י. Similarly בִּזְנָא for פִּתְנָא bundle. But they may also be two parallel forms. In זִרְדָא outfit, Assyrian ġubātu, zubātu, dress. צ is assimilated to כ, then ת to י, כ becomes ר. צַבֵּה to prepare still occurs as variant to זָבַד.

¹ Cf. Fraenkel, 69.

² Cf. Palestinian עִשָּׂא Aph. of טַחַר; עִשְׁמָה something to taste, עִשְׁמָא flank, קִישְׁלָא Kislē, עִשְׁלָא digestion, עִשְׁלָא κατὰλυσίς, עִשְׁלָא white. In later literature קִישְׁלָא concerns. Arab. عسقلون Ascalon. Assimilation of כ to ע occurs in עִשְׁקָה retention.

³ Cf. קִרְץ κυρτός.

⁴ Cf. Barth, *ES.*, 36 sq.

⁵ Cf. Targ. and Syr. אִזְרָבֵל. In later Hebrew I have met with אִזְרָבֵל.

⁶ טִיִּיָּה or טִיִּיָּה is in form and etymology identical with Arab. طَشَانِي, from طاش to be out of mind. For the development of meaning cf. קָדָר proud and Arab. اِسْتَدْرَج to be insane.

⁷ Cf. Barth, *ES.*, 33, 51.

b) A sonant and a surd sometimes change to a surd and a sonant. *סֹפֶרֶת* *sulphur* (Hebrew) appears as *סֹפֶרֶת*. The pronunciation was probably in both cases alike.¹

DISSIMILATION.²

§ 53. In words containing two identical or similar sounds one of them is usually dissimilated when the word is in frequent use.

1. ל dissimilates to ד in *פֶּדֶשׁ־לֶחֶם* *pepper*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 b; to נ in *נֶחֱמָא* *bread*; *לֶחֶם לֵל* to (§ 177); to ר in *פֶּרֶגְלִידָא* *slice*, *אַרְמִלֶּחָא* *widow* (through an intermediate **אַלְמִלֶּחָא*); but the stem may be *רַמְלָא*; *מִכְרַבְלִיתָא* *mixture of white and black*.

2. נ dissimilates to ר in *תְּרִיתִין*, *תְּרִיתִין* *two* (but *תְּנִינָא* *second*).

3. ר dissimilates to ל in *אֲרַבְלָא* *wild ox*; *רֹקֶטָא* *rocket*.

4. ד dissimilates to ת in *בַּגְדָּאֵי* *the Bagdadean*. To ל in *לֹא־יִדְבֵק אָנָּה בִּירְשָׁה* *that I should be connected with his descendants*. M. MS., Pes. 49 a.

5. ט dissimilates to ת in *בֹּשְׂמִיתָא* *spark*, alongside of *בֹּשְׂמִיתָא*.

VANISHING OF CONSONANTS.

§ 54. a) Initial consonants. א is dropped in *אֶחָד*, *אֶחָד* *one*, *אֲחֵרָא* *another*, and in the imperative of *אָתָּה* *to come* and *אָזַל* *to go*.³

נ is dropped in some forms of the imperative Qal of verbs פִּנֵּן, following the analogy of the imperfect.

§ 55. b) Within the word. א is elided in contractions: *לֹא־אֵת* *there is not*, from *לֹא־אֵת*; *הֵלֵךְ* *those*, from *הֵלֵךְ*. It quiesces in a preceding vowel: *אֲרַבְלָא* *form*, from *אֲרַבְלָא*; *אֲרַבְלָא* *wild bull*, *רִישָׁא* *head*, especially in אָע verbs. It is also elided in the adjective ending *אָה* (§ 82).

ה is syncopated in *אֲרַבְלָא*. (§ 124).

ה quiesces in a preceding vowel in *אֲרַבְלָא* *favoring*, *אֲרַבְלָא* *sprout*, *אֲנָּה* *we*, *אֲרַבְלָא* *one another*, *אֲרַבְלָא* *a certain bird* = Assy. *aḥarsānu*, or *aḥursānu*, Syr. *ܐܚܪܫܢܐ*, Arab. *وَرَّشَان*, *ringdove*. It is syncopated in *אֲרַבְלָא* *beneath*, *below*.

¹ Cf. Haupt, *BA.*, I., 3; W. B. H. (*Hebraica*, I., 231).

² Cf. Haupt, *AEV.*, XII., 17-20; W. B. H. (*Hebraica*, I., 224 sq.).

³ Cf. Hebr. *אָה*, *אָה*; Arab. *مَرَّ*, *مَرَّ*; Syriac *ܡܪܪܐ*, *ܡܪܪܐ*.

§ 56. ע quiesces in a preceding vowel in some verbs whose second stem-consonant is ע: דִּיץ *to stick in*, דִּוַּח *to exude*, סִיֵּר *to visit*, תִּוֵּר *to be awake* (secondary root of עִיר), עִיֵּס *to double*, Arab. ضَعَف. It quiesces also in a few verbs פִּעַר *to do*, Col. MS., Zeb. 60 a, מִיָּקַם *to pronounce incorrectly*, Ned. 16 a, and in זֶטֶר *small*, from זַעַר = זַעַר (§ 56), i. e., זַעַר with infixed ת. It is syncopated in אֶטְבָּא *ring*, רִיפְתָּא *bread*, and quiesces in the compound numerals אֶחָדָסִי *eleven*, תִּיֵּרָסִי *twelve*, etc. (§ 136). In בִּזְנָן *we want*, Col. MS. Zeb. *passim*, for בִּזְנָן.

§ 57. ג is lost in זִוְרָא *pair, scissors*, and אַבֵּי *at, upon* (§ 174). The *g* in this case first became *g*^u, then the separate elements *g* or *u* were lost.¹ Perhaps belong here שִׁנֵּשׁ and שִׁבֵּשׁ?

§ 58. ל quiesces in קוֹמֵר *καλαμάριον*, M. MS., Sabb. 80 a.

ר quiesces in the preceding vowel in קוֹקְנִי *worms*, קרן/ן, in the compound בִּזְרָא for זֶרְעָא בִּיר (or origin. בִּזְרָא from זֶרְעָא), and in אֶמִּינָא *I say*.

ב is dropped in a few participles of Pa'al: שִׁבֵּשׁ *trim the vine*, B. M. 73 a; יִבְבֵּינָן Yeb. 41 b; סִלְקִי M. MS., B. Q. 48 a; קְרִמֵּינָן Pes. 53 b, and others.

נ is syncopated in מִנְשִׁיתִיהָ *makes water (sibi)*.

§ 59. ר is dropped in אֶרְאָא *ear*. (If Fleischer's opinion given in Levy's *Neuh. Wb.*, III., 312 b, that ר interchanges with ר is true, then אֶרְאָא may come from אֶרְאָא = אֶרְאָא).² In זֶרְבָּא *sorb-bush*, for זֶרְבָּא.³

§ 60. c) Final consonants. א, ו, and י quiesce in the preceding vowel in stems אֶל, לֶו, and לֵי. The two former then pass into לֵי. The י appears in a few forms, especially before suffixes. ה and נ are generally retained, but are treated in a few verbs and nouns like א. Thus, גִּנָּה = גִּנָּה *to rumble*, עֵ in מִנְתָּא *mint*, אֶרְיָא *argument*, בִּדֵּי *to break*, טִבֵּי *to sink*, פְּדֵי *to wound*, פִּסֵּי *to spoil*, שִׁנֵּי *to slant*, שִׁקֵּי *to sink*, אֶשְׁתַּמּוּדֵּי *to have identified*.

¹ This phenomenon is frequent in Indo-European languages. Cf. also Fraenkel, *op. cit.* XXII., 107.

² For a change of ר to ב, cf. Praetorius, *B.A.*, I., 44, and Maclean, § 106.

³ Perhaps also in the Palestinian proper name רִלְתָּא for רִלְתָּא *child*, as in Syriac. But it may also be a shortening of אֶלְתָּא or contraction of רִעְלָתָא. Cf. also §§ 116, 119.

§ 61. ך quiesces in some forms of the imperfect and imperative Qal: שִׁיחַ, יִשְׁחַח, לִיחַח, יִיחַח; שִׁיחַ, יִשְׁחַח, לִיחַח, יִיחַח to say.¹ In שִׁחַח he sent, M. MS., Ber. 42a, שִׁחַח he locked, H. MS., B. M., 86a; in שִׁחַח small, אֲשֶׁר Asher; perhaps also in אֲשֶׁר is superfluous, but this may be אֲשֶׁר (M. MS., Sabb. 64a).

§ 62. ל is dropped in some forms of *לָלוּ* to go: *לָלוּ* he went, M. MS., B. M. 101 b, 103 b, Col. MS., Pes. 111 b; *לָלוּ* he goes, Col. MS., Pes. 110 b; *לָלוּ* let him go, K. MS., Mem. 2 a; *לָלוּ* go, Col. MS., Pes. 104 b.² In *לָקַח* he took, Qidd., 81 b, M. MS., A. Z. 3 a; *לָקַח* takes, MSS. Sukk. 52 b. In *קָלַל* for *קָלַל* light.

§ 63. ך is dropped in the dual and plural of verb and noun, **תִּירִי**, **תִּירִי**, **תִּירִי**, **תִּירִי**, **תִּירִי**, *two*, **מֵאתִי** *two hundred*, **אָמְרִי** *they say*, **בֵּי** *between*, **כִּי** for **כֵּן**, **דִּי**, **הִי** for **הֵן**; **מִיָּא** for **מִיָּאָן** (§ 90). The feminine plural ending **ִיָּ** loses its ך only in one case: **לִיתְפָּדָה** *they may be caught*, M. MS., Sabb. 43 b.

§ 64. ך is dropped in **הִיאָבָה** for **הִיאָבֶה** (§ 159).³

ת is dropped in בַּיִת *house*, שַׁבָּת *Sabbath, week*;⁴ in the absolute state of feminine nouns: אַחֵרֶת or אַחֲרֵת *another*, אֵתְּנָת *matrimony*; is not retained even before suffixes לְאַחֲרֵיהֶּם *to do it late*, Sabb. 119 a, לְאַחֲרֵיהֶּם *to heal him*, Raši Sanh. 101 b; and is usually apocopated in the sing. fem. of verbs in the participles and the perfect.

§ 65. ב is apocopated in רַבִּי again, נָשָׂא blew, MSS., B. M. 85*b*, 86*a*, Raši Taan. 24*a*; נָשָׂא marries, Col. MS., M. Q. 3*b*, נָשָׂא Col. MS., Zeb. 5*a*.

§ 66. בִּי is dropped in many forms of קום *to stand*: אָמַרְתִּי, אָמַרְתָּ; קוּמְהָ, קומְהָ *stand thou*, Col. MS., M. Q. 25 b, M. MS., Sanh. 95 a; קָאם, קָאם, *stands*; אָנְחָא I stand, Col. MS., Zeb. 19 a, בּוֹדְקָא I explain, *ibid.* Pes. 90 a; אֲפָסְתִּיהָ I explained it, *ibid.* M. Q. 25 a. Here the suffixed forms are derived from the apocopated forms.

TRANSPOSITION OF CONSONANTS.—§ 67. בַּתּוֹחַ, בְּוֹחַח *desolation*; מִדְרָא, מִדְרָא *water-course*; טֶבֶחַ, טֶבֶחַ *chest*; קִלְוֶחַ, קִלְוֶחַ *shuttle*; and others.

¹ Cf. **S78** says, 'Anān, quoted by Harkavy in *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 225.

² The verb **חָזַח** *to heat* is perhaps an Aph'el of **חָזַל**. For the development of meaning cf. Hebrew **הַעֲלָה**, **הַסֵּק**, and Syriac **שָׁנַר**. Cf. also § 37.

³ Cf. **בדיאבא** TG., ed. Harkavy, § 181.

⁴ Cf. C. Lévi, *AJP.*, XVI., 34.

B. VOWELS.

IMÂLÈ.—*Pathah*.—§ 68. Original *ă* in closed and intermediate syllables frequently changes to *i* (or *ē*). Thus, פִּסְחָא *Passover*, בֶּשָׂרָא *meat*, שָׂטָנָא *Satan*, רִיגְלָא *foot*, קִימְחָא *flour*, זִימְנָא *time*, גִּינְחָא *garden*;¹ in the preformatives of the imperfect Qal; in the first syllable of the perfect Paʿēl when the second stem-consonant is ר or a guttural: e. g. קָרַב *brought near*, מִיעַט *lessened*, B. Q. 51 *b*; צִיעַר *vexed* Qidd. 70 *b*, Ned. 62 *a*; פִּירַשׁ *separated himself*, Sôt. 4 *b*; נִיחַם *roared*, Hull. 59 *b*; in the second stem-syllable of the imperfect in Paʿēl לִיתִּיהָ *let him lower it*, Sabb. 67 *a*; לְצִינָהּ *let him cool her off*, B. B. 74 *b*; in the enclitic pronoun זָבַחְתִּי *hast bought*, B. M. 51 *a*, קָטַלְתִּי *hast killed*, *ibid.* 59 *b*; מִזְבַּחְתִּי *sellest*, *ibid.* 72 *a*, סָתַרְתִּי *breakest down*, B. B. 4 *a*; in the perfect אֶרְבֵּעִי *placest*, B. Q. 114 *a*; in the first syllable of the Aph'ēl הוֹדָה מִיָּמָיו *taught*, A. Z. 3 *b*, דְּמִיכָל *that he shout*, B. B. 5 *a*; לְאַשְׁתּוּרִי *to make water*, B. B. 19 *b*; לְאַפְסוּרִי *to make unfit*, Pes. 15 *b* (fragm. ed. by Lowe).

Long *Qāmēç*.—§ 69. Original long קָמֶץ at times changes to *ē* (or *i*). Usually so when *ā* has arisen in consequence of the quiescing of an א: מִיכָל, מִימָר, מִיזִיל, מִימָר, מִינָס, מִינָס, from original *מִאֲכָל, *מִאֲמָר, *מִאֲזִיל, *מִאֲמָר, *מִאֲנָס (primarily 'מִאֲ, 'מִאֲ); רִשָּׁא *head* for *רִאשָׁא; מִישְׁקָלִי inf. of שָׁקַל *to weigh, be worth*, Ar. 18 *b*; מִינְמָרִי *to study*, Hôr. 12 *a*; מִיחְדָּרִי inf. from חָדַר *to return*, Ar. 23 *a*; חֲדָתִי, חֲדָתִי *new*, B. M. 73 *a*; חֲוִירָתִי *white*, אוֹפְמָתִי *black*, רַבָּתִי *great*, זוֹטָרָתִי *small*, and other words like them.² זוֹטִי *small*, מִינִיכָי *your vessels, garments*, M. MS., Pes. 111 *b*; רִיחָטָן *are frisky*, Sabb. 32 *a*; שִׁיבְקֵיהוֹ *their deceased parents or relatives*, B. M. 70 *a*; אִינִישׁ *man*. So also in the infinitives קָטוּלִי, קָטוּלִי, אֶקְטוּלִי, אֶחְקָטוּלִי (§ 223); and perhaps in the plural ending of the verb יָצָא for יָצָא.³ A kind of imâlê is diphthongization (§ 80).

¹ Some of these forms may be regular by-forms.

² Barth takes the ending תִּי to be identical with the pronominal element we find in the Ethiopic pronoun i'e'eti (ZDMG. 46, 688, n. 1). In Mandaic this appears as tē (Noeldke, MG. 154); in Palmyrean it has the form תִּה (Halévy, *Maḥbereth*, p. ס"ה); in Arabic تِى, تِى, تِى. But how would this theory explain the masculine form تِى? It is noteworthy that this ending תִּי appears only in adjectives.

³ So in Modern Arabic the nominal ending ى is pronounced ē, such forms as رَمَى are pronounced ramē, cf. also the transcription of Aramaic ē, ī, by Arabic ā (Fraenkel, *op. cit.*, XVII.). For a similar change in Amharic, cf. Praetorius, *Amhar. Sprache*, p. 23.

OBSCURATION OF Â.—§70. The obscuration of *â* to *ô*, so characteristic of Hebrew, is rare in the Talmud. **תַּלְמוּד** *study*, **פַּרְשֵׁי חֻמְשֵׁיכֶם** *your weekly lessons*, Ber. 8*b*; **רַבּוֹתָא** *myriads*. K. MS., Sanh. 26*a* (*bis*); **בּוֹר** *my lord*. P. MS., Ber. 58*b*.¹ The nominal ending *ân* is at times obscured to *ô* or *û* under the influence of the *n*. **אָזְנוֹת אֶבְשָׁנָא** *dried ears of corn*; **אֶדְרוֹנָא** *bed-room*, **נִסְיוֹנָא** *trial*.

VOCALIC EPENTHESIS.—§71. The final vowel *i* of the first com. and the 2. fem. sing. and the final *û* of the 3. masc. plur. of the perfect influence their preceding vowel and are themselves apocopated. Thus, qat(a)l(a)tî becomes qat(a)lait, and contracted q(a)t(a)lêt, or q(a)t(a)lit, **קָטְלִית** or **קָטְלִית**. Similarly, the perfect q(a)t(a)lû becomes q(a)taⁿl contracted to q(a)tôl **קָטוּל** (§§ 232, 243).² The pronominal suffixes *akhi* *thine* (f.), *akha* *thine* (m.) and *ahi* *his*, become *a^hkh*, *a^akh*, *aⁱh* and contracted, **אֶחָי**, **אֶחָי**, **אֶחָי**. The last form *ahi* for *ahu* or *ihu*, is due to analogical influence. An equivalent form *ihu* became by transposition *uhi* (*cf.* **אָבִיוֹהִי** *his father*) and in analogy of the latter such a form of *ahi* was formed.

INFLUENCE OF CONSONANTS ON VOWELS.—§72. The quiescence of one of the consonants א, ר, י, ה, ה, ז, or ר, lengthens the preceding vowel. Thus **אֵינָא** *I say* (for **אֵינָא***); **רֵישָׁא** *her head* (for **רֵישָׁא***); **סָגִי** *he went* (for **סָגִי*** = *sagîi*); **בִּיבֵד** *to do* (for **בִּיבֵד**); **גָּנָא** for **גָּנָא** *it rumbled*; **קִיקְיָ** for **קִיקְיָ** *worms*. The same is the case when any other final consonant disappears; as **שָׁקָא**, **נָשָׂא**, **הֵיאָבָא**, for **שָׁקָל**, **נָשֵׁב**, **הֵיאָבֵד** (§ 159); **אִי** for **אִי** *if*.

§73. The neighborhood of an ז sometimes produces imâlê: **אַרְבַּעַ** *four*, **הֶדְסִיר** *eleven* (= **הֶדְסִיר**), **אַרְבַּעַ** (**אַרְבַּעַ**), **שְׁתַּיִסְר** (**שְׁתַּיִסְר**). On the other hand, ר and the gutturals ה, ה, ז change a preceding short vowel *ě*, *i*, or *u*, to *a*: **סוּ** *son* (**סוּ**), **תַּרְתִּין** *two*, (**תַּרְתִּין***), **לֵימַר** *he says*, (**לֵימַר***), **יָדַע** *knows*, **נִמְנָה** *is late*, **אָמַר** *says*, **זָבַח** *slaughters*, with *a* for *i*. But **אֵינָא** *I say* (for **אֵינָא**) and **שְׂבִינָא** *I was satisfied*, Col. MS., Meg. 7*b*.

¹ Cf. **מור**, *HG.*, 407, 417. Still the ר in some cases may simply denote קָמֵץ, not הֶלֶב. Cf. **נִגְזוּל**, *TG.* ed. Cassel. 41; **נִשְׁמָרָא**, *ibid.* 41, and G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 32, 737.

² Jastrow, s. v. **כָּבֵד**, reads Nidd. 56*a* **כָּבֵד** *I swept*, which, in his opinion, stands for **כָּבֵד**. But this is a mistake. As is evident from the next page, we have here **כָּבֵד**, 3. person for 1., a frequent occurrence in the Talmud.

§ 74. The neighborhood of a labial or of a liquid obscures at times *ā* (or *i*) to *ū* (or *ō*). This phenomenon is more frequent in the cognate dialects.¹ מַנָּה *man* (already in Bibl. Aram.), הוֹנֵן *honey*, גִּנְנָה *vine*, אֶמְנָה *leaven*, תַּמְרָתָה *date-palm*, מִמְנָה *a weaving*, Sabb. 58 a, טֶנֶּה *shade*, אֶלְנָה *wine-pressing*, עִירֵינָה *rain-shower*, פִּירֵצִינָה *grain of seed*, אֶרְנִינָה *the young of a gazelle*;² מִקְשָׁה inf. Qal of קָשָׁה *to be difficult*, Yeb. 40 a; פִּתְחָה Pers. *katalī*, a certain dish.³

NOTE.—In פִּי *mouth*, we have an original nominative +mimation. In the first syllable of אֶרְנִינָה we have an attempt to render the Arabic غ.

FLUCTUATING VOCALIZATION.—§ 75. Some words fluctuate in their vocalization, and it is impossible to tell which is the original form. Thus אֶנְנָה *web* appears also as אֶנְנָה, אֶנְנָה, אֶנְנָה, or אֶנְנָה, and אֶנְנָה; בִּנְנָה a kind of doves, בִּנְנָה *fly*, appear also as בִּנְנָה, בִּנְנָה, and similarly many other words.⁴

SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS IN CLOSED SYLLABLES.—§ 76. In the traditional pronunciation long vowels in closed syllables are shortened. This is most marked in the case of קִמְיָ as it differs from פִּתָּה also qualitatively in Ashkenasic pronunciation. Thus, אֶמְרָן, אֶמְרָן are pronounced אֶמְרָן, אֶמְרָן.

COMPENSATORY LENGTHENING.—§ 77. Compensatory lengthening takes place in מִימְנָה (§§ 77, 90), אֶיִיבִי a proper name, for אֶיִיבִי (= Arab. أَبُي), לִיָּה *liar*, (= בִּדְאָה; cf. § 77), עֵינֵיהָ *its branches*, M. MS., Pes. 111 b, for עֵינֵיהָ = עֵינֵיהָ of eds.; הֶיִינִי, for הֶיִינִי = הֶיִינִי (§ 119); הֶיִינִי *that they may lift him up*, 2 M. MS., M. Q. 28 b, for הֶיִינִי;⁵ כֹּכְבָּה *star* (through an intermediate *kakkabu*); הֶבְרָתָה *trumpet*; שִׁשְׁרָה *chain*; פִּינְלִי *partridges*; בִּנְנָה or בִּנְנָה a kind of doves; קִקְלָתָה *dung-hill*; שִׁשְׁרָה *chain*; שִׁשְׁרָה *sesame*; הֶיִינִי or הֶיִינִי *fly*; לֶלְבָּה *palm-branch*; שִׁשְׁרָה *bridesman*; גִּלְלִיבָה (= גִּלְלִיבָה *Gaph'el* of גִּלְלִיבָה).

HEIGHTENING AND DEPRESSION OF VOWELS.—§ 78. Short *u* is heightened to *ō* in a final syllable: אֶקְטָל, אֶקְטָל. Long *o* is

¹ It must be remembered that some of the forms with *u* may be by-forms.

² Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, 17 sq., *ZDMG.*, XXII., 455; Dalman, *op. cit.*, 65.

³ Cf. Fraenkel, *Fremdw.*, XVII.; G. Hoffmann, *LCB.*, 1881, Col. 416, 1882, Col. 320.

⁴ Cf. Noeldeke, *MG.*, § 15.

⁵ G. Hoffmann, *ZDMG.* 32, 754, cites Bar Hebraeus to Ezr. 16:24, *gaibhē* for *gabbē*

sometimes pronounced *û* as in Western Syriac. This is regularly the case in infinitive forms קְשׁוּלִי, קְשׁוּלִי, etc.; in the pronouns and pronominal suffixes אֲתוֹן, אֲנִי, אֲנִיָּהּ, אֲנִיָּהּ, אֲנִיָּהּ, אֲנִיָּהּ; in the perfect with transposed final vowel קְשׁוּלִי (§ 71); in the names of the letters יוֹד, קוֹף; frequently in the plural endings of the verbs אֲתָנוּ, אֲתָנוּ, etc.

Final *ē*, *ē*, if not plural ending, is frequently pronounced *i*: אֲנִיָּהּ *they*, הָרְתִי, הָרְתִי, *new*, etc., and in a few other cases; e. g., הָבִיתָהּ *his wife*, lit. *the one of his house*.

DIPHTHONGS.—§ 79. In diphthongs whose second element is *ā* the latter has retained its vocalic force in traditional pronunciation; while in diphthongs whose second element is *ī* the latter is pronounced as *ā* or *ē*. Thus, בֵּיתָא *house*, בַּתְרֵיתָא *last*, are pronounced baitho, bathraitho, but טְרוּא *roast*, תְּרוּשָׁא *treading*, תְּרוּשָׁא *exactitude*, tavyo, dafšo, dafko.

Diphthongization.—§ 80. The vowels *ī*, *ē*, *ā*, change sometimes to *ai*. The vowels *ō* and *û* to *au*. That an original diphthong thus reappears is only incidental.

a) *ī* and *ē*: אִתְנַיִס אִתְנַיִס *I became sick*, M. MS., Sabb. 145 b; אִתְפַּיִס *was satisfied*, B. Q. 113 b; אִתְנַיִן *she committed adultery*, Sanh. 106 a; צֵיִל *clear*, Sabb. 23 a 'Arûch; הִיִּק *pounded*, Bêḡa 14 b; לִיִּק *connected*, Hull. 11 a; צֵיִר *bound up*, פִּיִּל *measured*, *ibid.* 105 b; צֵיִר *are bound up*, B. M. 24 b, 108 b; הִיִּס *grit*; מִדְּוִן (= מִדְּוִל § 34) H. MS., B. B. 8 a.—אֵצִילָא *she brought up*, Sabb. 116 b; אֵתְרוּסָא *they were soiled*, *ibid.* 124 b; שְׂרֵינָא *I sow*, Keth. 103 b; חֲפֵינָא *I cover*, MSS. B. M. 49 b; קַצֵּינָא *I shall cut down*, M. MS., *ibid.* 107 b; לַשְׂטִיתָהּ *I cursed him*, B. B. 21 b; בִּנִיתָהּ *thou buildest*, B. B. 4 a; מִלְּטִיתָהּ *thou cursest*, Sabb. 151 b; אִמְטִיתָהּ *thou hast brought*, Ber. 9 b; עַלְוִי *upon*, Yalq. MS., Yômā 83 b; עַלְוִיָּהּ or עַלְוִיָּהּ *upon him*, Col. MS., Meg. 7 a and elsewhere; the possessive suffixes אֲתָנוּ and אֲתָנוּ.¹

b) *ā*: הִיִּצְפִי *a kind of dove*; פִּיִּנָן (= פִּיִּנָן) *we are hungry*, B. M. 83 a; אֲדַמְיִתָּהּ *as long as they are wet (sibi)* (= אֲדַמְיִתָּהּ), Pes. 111 b.

¹ Cf. רִדְוִן, TG., ed. Harkavy, p. 5; רִדְוִן, *ibid.*, 33, n. 10.

c) *û. ô*: אֶבְרוֹרִי pinnacles; הַדּוֹשָׁא passage, habit; הַדּוֹלְלָא skein; שְׁוֹרָא thorn; בְּרוֹדִיתָא (= בְּדִנִיתָא) food; הַדּוֹקָא exactness.

Transposition of Diphthongal Elements.—§ 81. The elements of a diphthongized vowel are sometimes transposed, the *a*-vowel being placed after the *i* or *u*-vowel. In such a case the last are usually consonantized and the first lengthened: בְּאִירִי, בְּאִירִי orchards; דְּמִיבָא, דְּמִיבָא pullet; וְהִרְרָא, וְהִרְרָא rich landlord; טוֹרְדִינָא, טוֹרְדִינָא armory; פִּיתוּרִיתָא, פִּיתוּרִיתָא fine linen shirt; מִתְאָרָא, מִתְאָרָא poker; טִיּוֹרָאן, טִיּוֹרָאן proud fool; מִיִּשָׁא, מִיִּשָׁא proper name; נִסְיָבָא (nēsibā, nisiabā), מִיִּקָּא, מִיִּקָּא, נִיִּקָּא, נִיִּקָּא, נִיִּקָּא (nāsōrā), קִיִּקָּא, קִיִּקָּא, קִיִּקָּא, קִיִּקָּא (šarīqā), שְׁהֹרָא (šāhōr).¹ Akin to this is the consonantization of the *u*-vowel in שְׁוֹרָא, שְׁוֹרָא (Syr ܫܘܪܐ) lewd woman (= תּוֹבַעַת).

CONTRACTION OF VOWELS.—§ 82. *ā. ā* is contracted sometimes to *ā*. This is especially the case with the adjective ending. קֵמָא first. בְּתָא last, הַדִּיבָא the Adiabenean, לִיבָא the Libyan, שִׁירָא silk. נְהַרְדָּא the Nehardean (Keth. 54 a, a. e.), אֲרִיָּא the heathen (Col. MS., M. Q. 12 b), קִפְרָא if it mean the Cypriote. לֵיָּא above, לְתָא below, beneath;² בְּרָא (= בְּרָא) Col. MS., Zeb., *passim*.

NOTE.—Luzzatto's objection to the explanation of אֲרִיָּא as *Rabh of Arēkhā*³ falls to the ground, since אֲרִיָּא might well stand for אֲרִיָּא. Jastrow in his dictionary vocalizes אֲרִיָּא and explains it by *one who arranges arguments, a lecturer*. In such a case, however, we should rather expect the word to be אֲרִיָּא, not אֲרִיָּא. For although such forms may be found in the Targumim—*cf. e. g.* Levy's *Dict. on the Targ.*, s. v. נִרְ—they may, in every case, be explained as scribal errors, or as learned affectations. And even if the word could be grammatically defended, its extremely rare occurrence (I know of no case in the Talmud) speaks against its being in general use, and it could not have stood the wear and tear of an ignorant populace

¹ *Cf.* Mišnie (פִּקָּא), פִּרִּס, פִּאִרִּס, פִּאִרִּס, and קִסְיוֹהָא. *Cf.* also Assyrian *zi-arānu, hi'alānu*, for *zīrānu, hīlānu*.

² With the two last words, some such word as אֲרִיָּא *side* is to be understood.

³ *Op. cit.*, § 64 c.

through centuries. It will, moreover, be observed that the Talmud explains that לָקַב by אֲרִיכָה, which is generally taken to mean *tall*, but which Dr. Jastrow explains as *well-arranged, well-balanced, thinker*. Whatever that may mean, and whatever we may think of the Talmudists' etymologizing, one thing is certain, that they read אֲרִיכָה as a passive participle. Nobody would ever think of denying them the knowledge of a correct pronunciation of their living mother tongue; hence, any explanation offered must be based on the form אֲרִיכָה. For other explanations of the name cf. Muehlfelder, *Rabh*, p. 1, note; Goldammer's note to his English translation of Luzzatto's grammar, § 64; Kohut, *Aruch Completum*, s. v. אֲרִיכָה; Weiss, *Zur Geschichte der jüd. Trad.*, III., 147, note 3; *Hehālûç*, ix, 18 sq.

§ 83. Diphthongs are usually contracted in verbal forms: *ay* contracts to *ô*; *ai*, to *ê*, *î* (or *â*). אָרַבְתִּי *he placed*, אָרְבִּיזְתֶּם *they taught*, הָיָה *sees*, תָּלִי *hangs*, תִּשְׁלִי *throwest*, שָׁאַלְתָּ *you asked*, כָּבֵן *clean*, רָצִינוּ *we want*, Col. MSS. *passim*, מְצַיֵּלָה *I pray*, M. MS., Ber. 28 a, and others. In nouns: אֲרִיזָה *young gazelle*, Syriac חֲמִילָה *his wife*. In qatl and qatal forms it is sometimes contracted, but quite as frequently uncontracted. The later state is probably due to subsequent diphthongization (§ 80). Thus זֵיתָה *olive*, מוֹתָה *death*, תוֹרָה *thorn*; but בִּירְחָה *veil*, בֵּיתָה (and בִּיתָה) *house*, דְּבִירָה *inn*, זְרִיזָה *arms*, קִיבּוֹלָה *bucket*. In the plural ending *ai*(*â*): אֲנָשִׁי *men*, אֲבָנֵי *stones*, מִלֵּי *words*.

RETENTION OF DISAPPEARING AND INSERTION OF NEW VOWELS.

—§ 84. *Pretonic Qameç*.—In some cases original *â* in an open syllable before the tone is lengthened to *ā*, as in Hebrew. Thus פְּשׁוּרָה, Assy. *gašûru*, *joist* (the variant פְּשׁוּרָה corresponds to Assy. *gušûru*); מַהֲזָה *Māhōzâ*; הָיָה or הָאָה *proper, fit*, for הָיָה; סָנִי *hateful* (Col. MS., Meg., vocalizes סָנִי), for סָנִי; צָרִיךְ *necessary*, for צָרִיךְ; מִבּוֹנָה *money*; מַגִּישָׁה *Magian*.¹

§ 85. Other short vowels in open syllables are sometimes retained and probably lengthened. This is especially the case

¹ Cf. Targumic מִזֶּרֶן, מִחוּרָה, מִמּוֹרָה (?), קִטְרוֹרָה, כִּרְתִּי. Most of these nouns are evidently loan-words in which an effort is made to retain the original *â* sound. Cf. also Syriac מַחֲבֵלָה, מַחֲבֵלָה, מַחֲבֵלָה, all loan-words. (A verb מַחֲבֵל in the sense of the Hebrew חָמַח *to encamp* does not exist in any of the Aramaic languages.)

with verbs which retain at times the full vocalization of the 3d masc. sing. in the lengthened forms. *לָּעָרוּקוּ* *let them run away*, B. B. 8 *a*; *נִגְרָסוּ* *let them study*, P. MS., Ber. 13 *b*; *לָּעָבְדוּ* *let them do*, B. B. 156 *a*; *בָּשִׁילָהּ* *she cooked*, Ned. 66 *b*; *לִּפְדּוֹקֵינוּ* *let him redeem us*, Sanh. 105 *b*, and others.¹ *עוֹבְדָא* *deed*; *שִׁטְרָא* *document*; *צִילָהָתָא* *megrim*; *כּוֹבְסָא* *cluster of dates*. (But cf. § 92.)

§ 86. New vowels are sometimes found which differ from the original in whose places they stand. Thus, the preformatives of the imperfect Pa'él take *ē* or *i*: *אֵיקְטִיל*, *אֵיפְרִיךְ*; the preformatives of the imperfect Qal in *ע"י* and *ע"ע* stems: *e. g.*, *אֵיקָם*, *אֵינָה*, *אֵינָהוּשׁ*; a nominal form like *אֵומְרָתָא*; entirely new is the vowel in *אֵבְרָא* (orig. *abzâr*), *אֵבְרִיכָא* *berry*.

§ 87. A number of words, especially verb-forms, take a prothetic vowel to facilitate their pronunciation. *אֵשְׁתִּי* *he drank*, Sabb. 141 *a*; *אֵאָכַל* *he swallowed*, Sukk. 49 *b*; *אֵשְׁתִּיק* *he kept silent*, Pes. 17 *a*; *אֵמָצִי* *he was able*, Ned. 89 *b*; *אֵימָדָא* *he objected*, B. M. 110 *a*; *אֵטְשָׂא* *he hid himself*, A. Z. 70 *a*; *אֵשְׁתִּיא* *she drank*, Yeb. 65 *b*; *אֵשְׁתִּיקָהּ* *she kept quiet*, Qidd. 13 *a*; *אֵשְׁתִּיקוּ* *they kept quiet*, Nāz. 32 *a*, Sôtā 35 *a*,² *אֵשְׁתוּ* *drink ye*, Sabb. 41 *a*; *אֵשְׁתְּרִי* *wait ye*, Ber. 53 *b*; *אֵיסָר* *was spoiled* (§ 89), M. MS., Taan. 7 *a*; *אֵיָר* *she committed adultery*, K. MS., Sanh. 106 *a*, eds. *אֵירָן* (§§ 80, 89); *אֵדְבָא* *blood*.

§ 88. In some cases a vowel is prothetically added to words whose first consonant has a full vowel. In such a case the vowel of the original first syllable is frequently dropped. *אֵנְרִי* *they will dwell*, M. MS., Taan. 25 *a*; *אֵמְנְהִי* *they appointed him*, Sanh. 26 *a*; *אֵכְרִנָּא* *poll-tax*; and others. Cf. § 91.

LOSS OF VOWELS.—§ 89. Original short vowels have been dropped in all probability to about the same extent as in the cognate dialects. Final long vowels have been dropped in the personal pronouns and possessive suffixes. *אֵהָנָא* became *אֵהָנָ** and then *אֵהָנָ* (v. § 94), *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ*, became *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ*. The loss of final *ū* in *אֵהָנָהּ*, *אֵהָנָהּ* (v. § 94) is exceptional. In

¹ In Hebrew similar forms are found only in pause. Cf. also § 230, note.

² *אֵמְנְהִי* B. M. 84 *b* does not belong here; it is Ithpe'él. Cf. *מִימְרָא* Keth. 57 *b*. The prothetic vowel in the perfect may have been influenced by the imperfect *י* and only differentiated orthographically. Cf. also Hommel, *B.A.*, II., 357.

the enclitic pronouns ךְּ is sometimes found for ךָּ; in the perfect, the pronominal endings of the 1st and 2d person sing. have lost their final vowel. The final *û* in the 3d masc. plur. of the perfect has been frequently dropped with coincident coloring of the preceding vowel (v. § 71). In the other parts of the verb the loss of final *û* is very rare. The *i* of the 1st sing. is generally dropped in the objective suffix, rarely so in the possessive (v. § 109). The final vowels of the 2d and 3d sing. and the 1st plur. are generally dropped in both possessive and objective suffixes.¹ Also in *בָּעֵצ׃* *became bad*, *בָּזְזָ׃* *committed adultery*, *אֵינֶה׃* *when*, *אֵי׃* *there is*, the final vowel is dropped.

Syncope of Vowels in Consequence of Resolution.—§ 90. Resolution of doubling with syncope of vowel is found in *הַשָּׂתָה׃* *now* (*הַשָּׂתָה׃*), *מֵנָּה׃* *whence* (*מֵן אֵן*);² *מִמֶּלֶךָ׃* *of itself* (*מֵן מֶלֶךָ׃*); *אֲנִי׃* *on account of* (*עַל מִשְׁוֹל׃*); *אֶלָּא׃* *upon* (*עַלְיָ׃*).³

Syncope of Vowel in Consequence of Prothetic Lengthening of Word.—§ 91. The addition of a prothetic vowel frequently produces syncope (§ 88): *אֶטְרֵפָּה׃* *leaf*; *אֶשְׁלָגָה׃* *a kind of alkali*; *אֶפְתָּה׃* (*פְּתָה׃*) *bread*; *אֶצְפָּה׃* (*צִפְתָּה׃*) *matting*; *אֶרְקָתָה׃* (*רִקְתָּה׃*) *wrought metal*. Cf. *אֶיֶּסֶר׃* and *אֶיֶּן׃* (§ 89). The same thing happens when a word is lengthened by the addition of a preposition; e. g., *אֶבְרָא׃* *outside*, *אֶנָּה׃* *inside*.

Syncope of Vowel in Consequence of Segholatization.—§ 92. *שֶׁטְרָא׃*, *שֶׁטְרָא׃*, *written document*; *אֶנְשֵׁי אֶנְשֵׁי׃* *men*; *מֶגְרִים׃* *megrin*; *חֲמִישִׁי׃*, *חֲמִישִׁי׃* *eight*; *תִּלְתִּין׃*, *תִּלְתִּין׃* *thirty*; *עוֹבְדָא׃*, *עוֹבְדָא׃* *deed, fact*; *פְּבֻסָּא׃*, *פְּבֻסָּא׃* *cluster of dates*; and many others.

ACCENT.—§ 93. The traditional pronunciation accents always the penult of a word. Prefixed prepositions and conjunctions do not receive the accent.

¹ Whether the *i* of the 1st sing. of the possessive suffixes and the *û* in the plur. of verbs were pronounced or merely retained orthographically in Talmudic times we are unable to decide.

² Cf. Tunisian Arab. *mnin*.

³ Cf. Hebrew *שֶׁ* for *שֶׁ*; *מִ* for *מִ* (*מִיֶּחֱל* Ps. 69:9); *מִמֶּלֶךְ* *from his people* Targ. Onk., Lev. 21:14 and 23:29. Cf. also *רַעְבּוֹן*, *רַעְבּוֹן*, *רַעְבּוֹן*, for *רַעְבּוֹן*, *רַעְבּוֹן*, *רַעְבּוֹן*.

III. MORPHOLOGY.

PRONOUNS.—A. PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

a. Independent Personal Pronouns.—§ 94. *a)* אֲנִי *I*; אַתָּה, rarely אַתָּה, *thou*; הוּא, אִירֵי,¹ הוּא *he*; הִיא, אִירֵי *she*; אֵלֶּיךָ, rarely אֲנִיכֶם, *we*; אַתָּה, rarely אַתָּה, אַתָּה, אַתָּה, אַתָּה, *ye*; אִירֵי, rarely אִירֵי, *they*, masc.; אִירֵי *they*, fem.

b) REFERENCES: אֲנִי *I*, Ned. 5*a*, 44*b*; B. B. 59*b*; a. fr.—אֲנִי *we*, Ned. 56*a*, Ber. 56*b*; a. fr. אֲנִיכֶם *we*, B. B. 164*a*, Sanh. 11*ab* (taken from Biblical Aramaic).—אַתָּה *thou*, Ned. 5*a*, 21*a*; a. fr. אַתָּה *thou*, Ned. 91*b*, Taan. 29*a*; Sabb. 30*a*; B. M. 26*b*, 39*b*, 109*b*; a. e.—אַתָּה *ye*, Ned. 50*b*, 55*a*; a. fr. אַתָּה *ye*, Sanh. 109*a*. אֲנִי וְאַתָּה גַּנְבֵי that you are thieves; אֲנִי וְאַתָּה I and ye, Col MS., Pes. 110*a*; אַתָּה הוּא דְקַעֲבֵרְתִּי it is ye who did, etc., M. MS., B. M. 73*a*. אַתָּה *ye*,* B. M. eds. 37*a*. אַתָּה גַּנְבֵיכֶם ye yourselves. אַתָּה *ye*, Pes. 110*a* (V. L., a. l., n. 20). אַתָּה וְאֵנִי ye and I are seven; אַתָּה גַּנְבֵיכֶם ye yourselves, B. M. 37*a*. אַתָּה *ye*, Pes. 110*a* (V. L., loc. cit.). אַתָּה וְאֵנִי ye and I are five.—הוּא *he*, Ned. 55*a*; a. fr. הוּא *he*, it is, B. B. 111*a*; Ned. 51*a*, 55*a*; a. fr. הִיא *she*, Meg. 14*a*; Nidd. 72*b*; a. e. הִיא *she*, it is, Ned. 23*a*, 50*a*, 91*a*; a. e.—הֵמָּה *they*, masc., Ned. 20*b*; a. fr. הֵמָּה *they*, masc. and fem., in older language, Keth. 23*a*; Ned. 42*b*, 52*b*; Naz. 47*b*, 57*b*, 64*b*; Taan. 18*b*; B. B. 165*b*; Ber. 50*a*; B. M. 104*b*; a. e. הֵמָּה *they*, fem., Ber. 44*a*; Keth. 2*b*; a. e.

§ 95. The demonstrative pronoun אֵלֶּיךָ is at times used as a personal pronoun for the third person plural of both genders. Cf. Keth. 111*a*, Meg. 16*a*, Hull. 53*a*, Bekh. 5*a*.

§ 96. In our editions there occurs once the pronoun הוּא *he*, *she*. אַתָּה הוּא וְהִיא *thou and she are relatives*, B. M. 67*a*; in older texts it must have occurred more frequently; cf. אֲנִי וְהוּא *I and he*, Aruch Compl. Nid. 25*b*; אִירֵי הוּא *he and she*, *ibid.* Gitt. 68*b*. Kohnt. *Ar. Compl.*, s. v., has also the variant הוּא.

¹ Col. MS., Meg. 16*a*, vocalizes אִירֵי.

The word is identical with נִהְלָה or נִהְלָה originally *to her*, the ה having changed to ו or י. The dative fem. came to be used for the nominative of both genders. Cf. נִהְלָה = נִהְלָה M. MS., Sabb. 156 *b*, and li, lan, *I, we*, in the Chaldeo-Pahlavi for 'anā, 'anan.

§ 97. The forms אִיהִי, אִיהִי, אִיהִי, אִיהִי, are shortened from אִיהִי, אִיהִי, אִיהִי, אִיהִי, the first element אִ, אִ, being demonstrative elements אִ, אִ+א.¹ The forms אִיהִי, אִיהִי are used mostly as copula.²

b. Enclitic Personal Pronouns.—§ 98. The pronouns of the first and second persons are generally joined enclitically to the participles, and rarely to adjectives, so as to form, with the latter, one word. They are then shortened and assume the following forms:

MASCULINE.

<i>Singular.</i>		<i>Plural.</i>	
1. <i>a.</i>	אִיהִי(—)	<i>a.</i>	[אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—)]
<i>β.</i>	[אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—)], אִיהִי(—)	<i>β.</i>	[אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—)], אִיהִי(—)
2. <i>a.</i>	אִיהִי(—)	<i>a.</i>	אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—)
<i>β.</i>	[אִיהִי(—)], אִיהִי(—)	<i>β.</i>	אִיהִי(—), אִיהִי(—)

§ 99. Of the feminine, only the second person sing. is found in a few examples: אִיהִי אִיהִי *thou art forbidden for me*, Sanh. 20 *a*; אִיהִי אִיהִי *will thou marry me?* Keth. 81 *b*; אִיהִי אִיהִי *will thou lead?* *ibid.* 63 *a*; אִיהִי אִיהִי *thou collectest payment*, *ibid.* 43 *b*.

§ 100. The forms under *a* are used with verbs whose final radical is a consonant; those under *β* with אִ verbs. The forms in brackets occur only sporadically.

§ 101. The plural forms under *a* are sometimes joined to the singular theme of the participles and are in such a case preceded by אִיהִי. For examples see §§ 271, 272.

¹ On the various etymologies suggested for these pronouns, cf. Fuerst, *Lehrgr. d. aram. Id.*, p. 231 sq.; Hupfeld, *ZKM.*, II., 124 sq.; Boettcher, *Hebr. Gram.*, § 869, 2; Noeldeke, *Mand. Gram.*, pp. 63, n. 3, 92, n. 1; Duval, *Gram. Syriacque*, p. 168, n. 2; Wright, *Comp. Gram.*, pp. 98, 106; Dillmann, *Gram. d. aethiop. Sprache*, p. 267; Merx, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 167; Levy, *Neuh. Wb.*, s. v. אִיהִי; Jastrow, *Diction.*, s. v. אִ. For the Neo-Syriac forms ahu, ahi, anhi, cf. Guidi, *ZDMG.*, xxxvii, 293 sq. Cf. also Maclean, *Gram. of Vernacular Syriac*, p. 17.

² In later literature: אִיהִי *we*, HG. 319; אִיהִי *thou* (masc.), *ibid.* 403; אִיהִי *ye*, *ibid.* 404; אִיהִי (masc.), *ibid.* 208; אִיהִי MV. 35; אִיהִי *he*, HG. 394; אִיהִי[ד] = אִיהִי[ד] *she*, *ibid.* 305.

§ 102. In consequence of the promiscuous use of the preformatives א and ל with the third person masculine, the first person plural adopted by analogy a similar usage. As a result of this, both forms, the third person masculine singular and the first person plural, became indistinguishable. To remedy this, the enclitic personal pronoun was sometimes attached to the latter. לִי־יִיזְיִן *let us consider*, Sabb. 30 *b*; לִי־יִבְשְׁלִין *let us abolish*, Col. MS., Zeb. 38 *a*; לִי־יִתְצִין *let us infer*, *ibid.* 106 *b*.

§ 103. Rosenberg¹ sees in forms like אִתְּמַרְנָא (Sabb. 83 *a*, B. M. 86 *a*, a. e.), אִתְּבַקְנָא (Sanh. 29 *a*), and אִתְּבַרְנָא (Sabb. 121 *b*), forms of the perfect with an enclitic instead of a constitutive pronoun. This is erroneous; such forms are regular plurals used for the singular; *cf.* below, § 106.

§ 104. The same author explains (*loc. cit.*) forms like תְּסַבְרָא , תְּיַמְרָא , as composed of the respective verb and the singular pronoun of the second person " אַתָּה " with apocope of final " תָּ ." The second element is rather the objective suffix of the third person feminine, which latter refers to a word like מִלְתָּהּ understood. Thus, תְּסַבְרָא , תְּיַמְרָא , = תְּסַבְרָהּ , תְּיַמְרָהּ ; *cf.* נִצְרְכָהּ = נִצְרְכָא *we need it*; אִתְּמַרְנָא = אִתְּמַרְהּ *I wonder at it*.

§ 105. It will be observed that not only do the suffixes for the singular and the plural nouns show a promiscuous use, but the singular and plural suffixes themselves are sometimes not differentiated. The genders, moreover, sometimes interchange, though much more rarely.² This circumstance seems to be due to the fact that some of the singular suffixes, having become worn out, have lost their suggestiveness and have been supplanted by the more sonorous and emphatic plural forms, and this caused the confusion of all forms.

§ 106. Another perplexity is encountered by the student in the use of the first person plural for the same person in the singular, which is an expression of modesty or of generalizing indefiniteness. That plural is sometimes found together with the singular in one and the same clause; *e. g.*, $\text{וְדַכְרִין נִמְרֵי דְאַבְרָהָא לֵיהּ}$ *and I (we) remember also having told him*, B. M. 8 *b*; $\text{דִּלְמָא פְּרָסְטָהּ}$

¹ *Das aramäische Verbum im babylonischen Talmud*, p. 15.

² For a similar promiscuous use of the pronouns in other languages *cf.* Böttcher, *op. cit.* § 878.

לֹא בּוֹקְעִינֵךְ לִי for I (we) am not a Persian, eds. *ibid.* 28 b; לֹא לִירֹדֵךְ I (we) should not explain it, *Pes.* 90 a; לִירֹדֵךְ I spit out, *M. MS.*, *Sabb.* 145 b; אֲנִי אֶפְרָיִם I shall cut down, *B. M.* 107 b.¹ This use of the plural promiscuously with the singular has misled even such men as the late Jacob Levy² and Th. Noeldeke³ into erroneous theories. Thus Levy assumes a paragogic *nān* in the first person singular; and Noeldeke explains such forms as קטלינא, which occur on almost every page of the voluminous Talmud, as scribal errors. Whether these forms follow the analogy of לִי verbs or are plurals used as singulars, or are due to both causes, they are certainly legitimate formations.

c. *Possessive Suffixes.*—§ 107.

SINGULAR.

With Singular Nouns.

With Plural Nouns.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| 1. c. | אֲנִי | אֲנִי, אֲנִי, אֲנִי |
| 2. m. | אַתָּה | אַתָּה, אַתָּה |
| 2. f. | אַתְּ | אַתְּ, אַתְּ |
| 3. m. | { אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ }
[אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ] | { אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ }
[אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ] |
| 3. f. | אֵינִי | אֵינִי, אֵינִי |

PLURAL.

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| 1. c. | אֲנֵינוּ | אֲנֵינוּ, אֲנֵינוּ |
| 2. m. | אַתֶּם | אַתֶּם, אַתֶּם |
| 2. f. | אַתְּ | אַתְּ, אַתְּ |
| 3. m. | { אֵינֵינוּ, אֵינֵינוּ, אֵינֵינוּ }
[אֵינֵינוּ, אֵינֵינוּ] | { אֵינֵינוּ, אֵינֵינוּ, אֵינֵינוּ }
[אֵינֵינוּ, אֵינֵינוּ] |
| 3. f. | אֵינֵינוּ | אֵינֵינוּ, אֵינֵינוּ |

§ 108. The form אֵינוֹ arose from אֵינוֹ by metathesis; אֵינוֹ becoming אֵינוֹ. From this form is derived the suffix 3d masc. sing. אֵינוֹ. אֵינוֹ, אֵינוֹ, and אֵינוֹ are Hebraisms. אֵינוֹ is properly objective suffix. Forms in brackets are of rare occurrence. For examples, see Nouns.

¹ An analogous use of the plural is found in the Jerusalem Talmud; cf. M. Schlesinger's *Aram. Verb. im Jer. Talm.*, p. 15 sq.

² *Neuh. u. chald. Wb.* s. v. אֵינוֹ.

³ A. Rosenberg, *Das Aram. Verb. im Babyl. Talm.*, p. 28.

§ 109. Familiar nouns, especially those denoting family relationship, are frequently used without possessive suffixes.

1. First person: **אִמִּי** *my mother*, M. Q. 20 *b*, a. e.; **אִם** id. M. Q. 12 *a*, Gitt. 70 *a*, Šabb. 66 *b*, Ber. 39 *b*, Yôm. 78 *a*, a. e.; **אָבִי** *my father*, M. Q. 20 *b*, Meg. 12 *b*, B. M. 59 *b*, a. e.; **סִבָּתָא** *my grandmother*, B. B. 125 *ab*; **בִּיר** *my son*, Ber. 5 *b*; **בִּת** *my daughter*, Hull. 95 *b*, Keth. 54 *a*, 109 *b*; **אִיתָא** *my wife*, B. B. 132 *b*; **יָדָא בְּכֻלָּהּ יָדָא** *into my whole hand*, Ber. 56 *b*; **לְפִנְיָהּ** *to my bed*, *ibid.*; **וְאַמְטִינְהוּ לְבֵיתָא** *and bring them to my house*, Qidd. 22 *b*; **מִן בֵּיתָא עַד בֵּי מְדֻרָּשָׁא** *from my house to the college*, Ned. 59 *b*: (in the parallel passage Ber. 55 *a* we have **אִישְׁפִּיזָא** for **בֵּיתָא**). **מַאי דְקָמָא** *what is that before me?* i. e., how do I come to that? On **קָמָא** = **קָמֵר** *before us*, see Levy, *Neuh. Wb.* s. v. **קָמָא**, I.

2. Third person: **אִתָּתָא שְׂכִיבָא** *his (thy) wife is going to die*, Ber. 56 *a*; **קִטְלִינְהוּ לְכוּלָּהּ מֵרוּחָא** *he killed all his masters*, B. B. 3*b*; **מִי אִיכָא אָבִי דְקָאִים מְקַמִּי בְּרָא** *would a father ever rise up before his son?* Keth. 62 *b*; **דְּקוּלָּסָא גְבֵרָא** *whose husband is a kitchen-gardener*, Yeb. 118 *b*; **דְּשׁוּשְׁמָנָא נְבֵרָא** *whose husband is as small as an ant*, *ibid.*

§ 110. The suffix of the first person sing. is sometimes omitted: **מֶר** *my lord, sir*, frequently; **כְּנָת** *like me*, Col. MS., Pes. 105 *b*; **נֶפֶשׁ דְּהָדָא נֶפֶשׁ דְּהָדָא** *rejoice my soul, rejoice my soul*, *ibid.* 68 *b*; **מִן** *from me*, B. B. 142 *b*, M. MS., *ibid.* Hag. 22*b*, *ibid.* 15 *b*, V. L. ad l. n. 4, Er. 53 *b*. In the last passage as an example of the Galilean dialect.

§ 111. **אִת** *there is* and **לִית** *there is not*, on account of their verbal force take mostly objective suffixes. But these suffixes differ somewhat from those given in the table below. **אִתָּא** *am*, Ned. 81 *a*; **אִתְּנָ** Pes. 50 *a*; M. MS., *ibid.* **אִתְּנָ** *we are*; **אִתְּנִכוּ** Yeb. 116 *a*, **אִתְּנִכוּ** Pes. 87 *b*, **אִתְּנִכוּ** *ibid.* M. MS., *you are*; **אִתְּהּ** *is*, B. Q. 46 *b*; **אִתְּהוּ** *they are*, R. H. 20 *a*, a. e., **אִתְּהוּן**, Tam. 5 *a*; **אִתְּנִנָּן**, Me'ilā 7 *a*, read **אִתְּנִנָּן** = *ibid.* 5 *b*; **לִיתְּהוּ** *they are not*, Zeb. 14 *b*, 18 *b*, a. e.; **לִיתְּהוּ**, Er. 46 *b*, Pes. 87 *b*; *ibid.* M. MS. **לִיתְּהוּ**; **לִיתְּהוּ** *they are*, fem., Šebû 14 *b*.¹

¹ **לִיתְּהוּ** *he is absent*, Keth. 22 *a*, a. e., belongs to legal style. In **אִתְּהוּ אִתְּהוּ** *we are*, Pes. 50 *a*, **אִת** has assumed verbal, more correctly participial, form.

§ 121. אֶ is often joined to the following word, in which case the final א, which marks the length of the vowel, is not written. *E. g.*, הַשָּׂפָא, הַרְרִין, הַרְרִין = הַרְרִין אֶ, הַרְרִין אֶ, הַרְרִין אֶ.

§ 122. הָא, הֵא, הֶא sometimes unite with a preceding word, in which case they undergo phonetic or orthographic change. Thus, הָא + לֹא becomes לֹא־הָא *is not*; הֵא + אֵין becomes אֵין־הֵא, הֶא + אֵין becomes אֵין־הֶא *is not*; מִהֵא הֵא is contracted to מִהֵא *how is it, how about?* and others. אֶהָ + אֶהָ becomes אֶהָ־אֶהָ; הָא + הָא + הָא = הָא־הָא־הָא; מִהֵא הֵא = מִהֵא־הֵא.

C. COPULATIVE PRONOUNS.

§ 123. *a*) The idiom of the Babylonian Talmud, differing in this respect from the cognate languages, has developed separate forms for the pronouns of the third person, when the latter imply the substantive verb and are used for the copula. These forms are:

Masc. sing. הֵהָ¹

Masc. plur. הֵהָ־הֵהָ

Fem. sing. הֵהָ

Fem. plur. הֵהָ־הֵהָ

b) REFERENCES: הֵהָ מִהֵא *what is it?* Ned. 38 *b*; הֵהָ מִהֵא *that it is, the very thing, ibid.*; הֵהָ מִהֵא *it is I*, Taan. 24 *b*; מִהֵא הֵהָ *who is it?* Pes. 104 *a*; מִהֵא הֵהָ מִהֵא הֵהָ *do I know where he is?*—הֵהָ Ber. 44 *a*, Hull. 43 *b*, *a. e.*—מִהֵא מִהֵא מִהֵא *they all belong to one and the same kind*, Hull. 79 *a*; and frequently.—הֵהָ־הֵהָ Col. MS., M. Q. 3*b*, 9*b*, *a. e.*; *TF*. 9.

§ 124. Luzzatto² and Nöldeke³ consider the copulative pronouns to be of the corresponding forms of the personal pronouns; the former being formed out of the latter by the prefix ה, and the initial א lost in the process of composition. Said prefix Nöldeke (*loc. cit.*) considers to be a mutilated הָ = הָ, הָהָ. Such a use of that particle would find an excellent parallel in the Hebrew הָהָ, הָהָ, etc., where that particle also exhibits a

¹ Col. MS. Alfasi on Bēḡa 16*b* vocalizes הֵהָ־הֵהָ, *i. e.*, הֵהָ־הֵהָ (§ 80). *Še'ēlīt*, ch. 18, has הֵהָ־הֵהָ.

² *Elem. gram. del dial. talm. Babilon.*, § 52.

³ *Mand Gramm.*, p. 92, n. 1.

verbal force; but *cf.* Duval's objection, *Gram. Syr.*, p. 168, note 2. Merx (*Gram. Syr.*, p. 168) derives **נִינְהוּ** from a supposed form 'inin + hu through aphæresis of initial vowel, and from the latter **נִיהוּ** through syncope of medial נ. I should suggest that the copulative forms have an independent genesis. They are not derivatives, but parallel formations of the personal pronouns. They consist of the pronominal suffixes and the syllable **נִי**, a contraction of **נְהִי**, which latter in its turn is an apocopated form of **נִהְוִי** = **לִהְוִי**, the third person singular of the imperfect of **הוּא**, **יְהִי** to be. That would explain why these forms are used only with the third person, while the Hebrew **הֵנָּה** may be used with all persons. A similar instance of the composition of **הוּא** is found in the term **הִנָּה** *granted*, which is a compound of **הִי** and **נָה**.¹

W. H. Lowe² has the following remark about these forms: "He (Luzzatto) did not perceive that the prefixed נ changes the simple pronoun into the substitute for the copula." The above words are apt to mislead the reader into the belief that Luzzatto was ignorant of the copulative force of these forms. As a matter of fact, he states it (*loc. cit.*) clearly enough, and it is but just to the deceased scholar that this should be pointed out. E. Blücher³ also, as far back as 1838, recognized the true nature of these forms.

§ 125. 1. **הֵינִי**, **הֵינִי**, frequent; **הֵינָּה** Col. MS., Meg. 7 a; **הֵינִי** Col. MS., Zeb. 13 b; M. MS., Pes. 60 a, *this is, these are*, are contractions of **הִי** *this* and of the respective forms of the copulative pronouns. The uncontracted form **הִי נִיהוּ** is cited V. L. ad Men. 92 b, notes 2, 3.⁴

2. Noteworthy is the pleonastic construction of our word with the copulative pronouns: M. MS., Taan. 20 b (*bis*) **הֵינִי נִינְהוּ** *these are*.

§ 126. **הֵינִי . . . הֵינִי** means: *this is one and the same, e. g.,* **הֵינִי וְרַדִּימָס הֵינִי מְנַחֵם** *Wardimas and Menaḥem are one and the same person*, Sabb. 118 b.

¹ Levy, *Nh. u. ch. Wb.*, s. v. **הִנָּה**.

² The Fragm. of T. B. Pesahim, p. 38, note 1.

³ *מרפא לשון ארמי*, p. 71.

⁴ According to Halévy, *ZA.* IV., 59, **הֵינִי** is a contraction of **הִיא + נ + הִיא**!

32 *a*; **הִידִי** MSS. Zeb. 69 *a*; **בִּידִי** MS. R. 117, B. M. 2 *b*, Pes. 90 *b*; **מִיִּידִי** M. MS., B. M. 2 *b*; **מִיִּידִי** (= **מִיִּידִי** + **בִּידִי**) M. MS., B. B. 8 *a*; **הִיִּידִי**. Naz. 12 *a*.—**מֵאֵן מִיִּידִיהֶם** *which of them?* B. B. 12 *b*, for the usual **הִי מִיִּידִיהֶם**.—**בִּי מֵשָׁפֶת** *why should he swear?* F. MS., B. M. 82 *b*.

F. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

a. Positive Indefinites.—§ 130. **פֶּלֶן**,¹ **פֶּלְנִיָּא** *Mr. So and So*, N. N.; **פֶּלְנִיָּתָא** *Mrs. or Miss So and So*.—**מִי** *somebody*.—**מִיִּידִי**,² **מִיִּידִים**,³ (**מִיִּידִים**)³ *something*, **מִיִּידִתָּא** *something*.—**בֶּן דִּיהִי**, *somebody*; **אִיִּישׁ** *somebody*: **מִידַע יָדִיעַ דְּהַפְתָּא דְּאִיִּישׁ אִיִּישׁ הוּא** *it is known that the place belongs to this or that man*, B. M. 21 *b*; cf. *ibid.* 23 *a*.—**הַהִי וְהַהִי** *this and that, so and so*.—**הַהִי . . . הַהִי** *the one . . . the other*; **הַהִי . . . הַהִי** *the one . . . the other* M. Q. 25 *b*.

§ 131. **אִיִּפָּא** *est qui, sunt qui* is used in the sense of *some*: **אִיִּפָּא דְּאִיִּישׁ** *some say*.

§ 132. **פּוֹלִי עֲלָמָא** *the whole world* is sometimes used in the sense of *anybody, anyone, everybody*.

§ 133. **חִילָק** and **בִּילָק** are used like our *Tom, Dick and Harry* for *anyone*: **אֲנָא לֹא חִילָק יָדַעְנָא וְלֹא בִילָק יָדַעְנָא אֲנָא שְׁמִיעְתָּא יָדַעְנָא** *I know no Hillāq and no Billāq, I know only a tradition*, Hull. 19 *a*; **חִילָק וּבִילָק אֲבָלִי לְהִי** *shall Hillāq and Billāq enjoy it?* Sanh. 98 *b*.⁴

§ 134. **כָּל** *all, every*; **כָּל אִיִּישׁ** *everybody, everyone*; **כָּל הָד וְהָד** *each and everyone*; . . . **כָּל מֵאֵן דִּי** *whoever*; . . . **כָּל דִּי** *whoever, whatever*; . . . **כָּל מֵאִי דִי** *whatever*; **כָּל דִּיהִי** *whatsoever*; **כָּל מִידַעַם**, **כָּל מִיִּידִי** (Ned. 49 *a*) *anything*.

b. Negative Indefinites.—§ 135. . . . **לֵית מֵאֵן דִּי** *none, nobody, no one*.—**לֵית . . . דִּי**, . . . **לֵית דִּי**, . . . **לֵית** *nothing*. . . **וְלֹא כָּלל**, **וְלֹא מִיִּידִי**, **וְלֹא מִידַעַם**.

¹ In later literature **פֶּלֶן** is used also for inanimate objects: **פֶּלֶן בְּזוּזִי פֶּלֶן** *for so and so much money* Se'elt, 36; **פֶּלֶן בְּדוּפְתָא פֶּלֶן** *in such and such a place*, *ibid.* 51.

² In the opinion of Professor Haupt **מִיִּידִי** is not a mutilated form of **מִידַעַם** but is the Hebrew **מִיִּידִי**, **מִיִּידִי**, *sufficiency* + **מִן** *from*; literally, *of a sufficiency*.

³ In Palmyrean **מִידַעַמָּא**, cf. ZDMG. 42, 398, where the word is vocalized wrongly **מִידַעַמָּא**; read **מִידַעַמָּא**. Assy. mindēma.

⁴ This is perhaps connected with the Arabic (جاء بـ) مُعْلَقٌ فَلَقٌ *misfortune*.

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NUMERALS.

A. Cardinals.—§ 136.

a) With Masculine Nouns.

With Feminine Nouns.

1. 'א	חַד	חֶדֶא
2. 'ב	תְּרִין, תְּרִי, תְּרִי	תְּרִיתִין, תְּרִיתִי, תְּלִיתִי
3. 'ג	אַרְבָּעָא	תְּלַת
4. 'ד	אַרְבַּעַא, אַרְבַּעַי	אַרְבַּע
5. 'ה	חֲמִישָׁא	חֲמִישׁ
6. 'ו	אֶשְׁתָּא	שְׁתִּית or שִׁית
7. 'ז	אֶשְׁבַּעַא, (שִׁבְעַת)	שִׁב or שֶׁב, שִׁבַּע
8. 'ח	אֶתְמַנְיָא	תְּמַנִּי or תְּמִנִּי
9. 'ט	אֶתְשַׁעַא, (תְּשַׁעַת)	תְּשַׁע
10. 'י	אֶעֱשָׂא	עֶשֶׂר
11. י"א	*חַד סַר, חַד עֶשֶׂר	*חַד סְרִי, חֲדִי סְרִי
12. י"ב	*תְּרִי סַר, תְּרִי עֶשֶׂר, תְּלִיסַר	תְּרִיתִי סְרִי, תְּרִי סְרִי
13. י"ג	תְּלִיסַר, תְּלַת עֶשֶׂר, תְּרִיסַר	*תְּלִי סְרִי, תְּלַת עֶשְׂרָה, תְּלַת עֶשְׂרָה, תְּלַת סְרִי
14. י"ד	אַרְבַּיסַר, אַרְבַּעַסַר	אַרְבַּע סְרִי, אַרְבַּע סְרִי
15. ט"ו	חֲמִיסַר	חֲמִישׁ סְרִי, חֲמִישׁ עֶשְׂרָה
16. ט"ז, י"ז	*שְׁתִּי סַר, *שְׁתִּי סַר	*שְׁתִּית סְרִי, שְׁתִּית עֶשְׂרָה
17. י"ח	*שִׁבַּע סַר, שְׁבַעַסַר	*שֶׁב סְרִי, שֶׁב עֶשְׂרָה, שֶׁב עֶשְׂרָה
18. י"ח	*תְּמַנִּי סַר, תְּמַנִּי עֶשֶׂר	*תְּמַנִּי סְרִי
19. י"ט	תְּשַׁעַסַר, תְּשַׁעַר	תְּשַׁעַסַר, תְּשַׁעַר, תְּשַׁעַר עֶשְׂרָה

20. 'כ	עֶשְׂרִין, עֶסְרִין	60. 'ס	שְׁתִּין, שְׁתִּי	100. 'ק	מֵאָה
30. 'ל	תְּלִיתִין, תּוֹלְתִין	70. 'ע	שְׁבַעִין	200. 'ר	מֵאָתָן, מֵאָתִי
40. 'מ	אַרְבַּעִין	80. 'פ	תְּמַנִּין, תְּמַנִּין	1,000. 'ת	אַלֶּה
50. 'נ	חֲמִישִׁין	90. 'צ	תְּשַׁעִין	10,000. (?)	רַבְבָּתָא

b) REFERENCES: תִּלְתִּי, with change of liquids: M. MS., Sabb. 110 *a*.—תָּנִי, with original *nūn*, as in תָּנִין, Col. MS., M. Q. 9 *a*.—אַרְבַּעַי: B. B. 30 *a*, 60 *a*; Er. 50 *b*; Col. MS., Pes. 13 *a*; a. e.—שְׁבַעַת: Keth. 67 *b*; תִּשְׁעַת: B. B. 62 *b*.—חֲדָיִסר: Taan. 18 *b*.—חֲדָי כָּרִי: Col. MS., Zeb. 58 *b*.—חֶדֶר עֶשֶׂר: Nidd. 54 *a*.—חֶדֶר סִי: R. H. 21 *a*; a. e.—חֲדָרִי כָּרִי: Keth. 62 *b*; a. e.—חֲדָרִי עֶשֶׂר: 2 M. MS., Yôm. 69 *b*, 84 *a*; a. e.—חֲלִיכָרִי: B. B. 133 *b*; Gitt. 68 *b*.—חֲלֵלַת עֶשֶׂרֶה: Ned. 41 *a*.—חֲלֵלַת עֶשֶׂרֶה: Taan. 14 *b*.—חֲלֵלַת עֶשֶׂר: Keth. 77 *b*.—חֲלֵלַת כָּרִי: Ber. 55 *b*.—אַרְבַּעַיִסר: Ar. 12 *b*; Col. MS., Meg. 17 *a*.—אַרְבַּעַי כָּרִי: Ar. 12 *a*; Sabb. 98 *b*.—אַרְבַּעַי: Pes. 4 *a*, 9 *b*; Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*.—חֲמִשָּׁת עֶשֶׂרֶה: Ar. 12 *a*.—שִׁית עֶשֶׂרֶה: B. B. 91 *b*.—שִׁתִּי כָּרִי: Col. MS., Meg. 2 *b*, 6 *a*.—שֶׁבַע עֶשֶׂרֶה: B. B. 91 *b*.—שֶׁבַע עֶשֶׂרֶה: Er. 83 *a*.—שִׁיבְסר: Er. 76 *b*, Meg. 2 *a*.—שִׁבְסר: Bekh. 50 *a*.—חֲשִׁיכָרִי: Ber. 28 *b*.—חֲשִׁכָרִי: Sabb. 17 *b*.—חֲשִׁכָרִי: Ar. 12 *a*.—חֲשִׁעֶה: M. MS., Taan. 13 *b*.—חֲשִׁעֶר: Nidd. 54 *a*.—עֶסְרִין: Col. MS., Meg. 6 *a*, 17 *a*.—חֲוִילָתִין: Col. MS., Pes. 68 *b*.—שִׁתִּי: Col. MS., Pes. 111 *a*.—שִׁתִּין, Col. MS., Meg. 7 *b*, vocalizes שִׁתִּין.—חֲמִנִין: Ar. 13 *a*; a. e.—חֲמִנִין: B. Q. 115 *a*; a. e.—בִּזְאִית: Col. MS., Pes. 64 *b*.—רְבֹזָא: Sanh. 39 *a*.

בִּזְאִה does not occur in the plural. אֶלֶה, in the construct state perhaps אֶלֶה, in the emphatic state אֶלְפָּא, in the plural אֶלְפִּי (Ned. 50 *b*), אֶלְפִּי (Keth. 106 *a*), and usually אֶלְפִּי.

The plural of רְבֹזָא is רְבֹזָאִין (Ned. 50 *b*), רְבֹזָאִין (M. MS., A. Z. 16 *a*), רְבֹזִין (Hull. 7 *a*), and commonly רְבֹזִיתָא (Sanh. 26 *a*, Gitt. 57 *a*, Pes. 62 *b*); that of רְבִבְתָּא is רְבִבְתִּין (Sanh. 16 *a*). רְבִבְתָּא (Ber. 6 *a*), and רְבִבְתָּא or רְבִבְתָּא (MS. Karlsr. and R. Hananel, Sanh. 26 *a*).¹

§ 137. Forms marked by a dagger end frequently also in חֶדֶר; those marked by an asterisk are found also written in one word; parenthetic forms are in the construct state.

§ 138. The ending חֶדֶר is contracted to חֶדֶר, (חֶדֶר), חֶדֶר, חֶדֶר, in the numerals for 2, 80, and 200. Final *a* has been changed to *e* under the influence of adjacent *e* in אַרְבַּעַי, חֲדָיִסר, חֲלִיכָרִי and the like (§ 73). The ending *e* in חֲמִנִי represents an original *ai*. For the sifting of vowel in חֲמִנִי for חֲמִנִי. חֲמִנִי for חֲמִנִי, cf. § 92.

¹ The *י* here may be an orthographical luxury to mark the plural; but may also represent *ai*; cf. § 70.

§139. In תַּרְיִן and תַּרְתִּין the original נ of the second radical has been dissimilated under the influence of the final ך (§53). The form תַּרְיִ is formed by analogy of תַּרְיִן. In תַּרְתִּין original *i* of the first syllable became *a* under the influence of the following ר.¹

§140. The following examples will illustrate how compound numbers greater than 19 are formed:

עֶשְׂרִין וְחָד	21	Bekh. 50
עֶשְׂרִין וְתַרְתִּין	22	Meg. 6 <i>a</i>
תְּלַת מֵאָה וּשְׁתַּין וְאַרְבָּעָה	364	Yômā 20 <i>a</i>
שִׁיתָא אַלְפִי	6,000	B. B. 73
תְּרִיסַר אַלְפִי	12,000	M. Q. 10 <i>b</i>
מֵאָה אַלְפָּה	100,000	Bekh. 8 <i>b</i>
תְּלִיסַר רִבּוּתָא	130,000	Sanh. 26 <i>a</i>
שִׁיתַּין רִבּוּן	600,000	Hull. 7 <i>a</i>
תְּלַת מֵאָה רִבּוּתָא	3,000,000	Pes. 62 <i>b</i>
אַלְפֵּה אַלְפִי רִבּוּא	10,000,000,000	Sanh. 39 <i>a</i>

§141. The following examples show the influence of the Latin: תַּרְתִּין נְכִי הָדָא 59, Nidd. 30 *a*; שִׁבְעִין נְכִי הָדָא 69, Er. 83 *a*; תְּמַנִּין נְכִי תַרְתִּין 78, Ar. 13 *a*; תְּמַנִּין נְכִי תַרְתִּין M. MS., Zeb. 118 *b*; cf. later Hebrew אַרְבַּעִים חֲסֵר אֶחָד 39.

§142. Through interchange of ל and ר, תְּרִיסַר and תְּלִיסַר are used interchangeably for 12 and 13, and it is frequently impossible to know which number is meant. Cf. the various readings to B. M. 24 *b*, 46 *a*, 85 *a*, 86 *a*; B. B. 12 *a*, 77 *b*, 150 *b*; Sanh. 26 *a*; B. Q. 112 *b*; Ber. 4 *a*, 8 *a*; M. Q. 10 *b*, 24 *a*, 26 *a*; Bêṣā 23 *a*; Yômā 87 *b*; Taan. 18 *b* (*bis*), 25 *a*; Hag. 4 *a*; H. G. 352; a. e. A similar interchange is found in Neo-Syriac (Nöldeke, *N.-S. Gr.*, pp. 53, 153).

§143. A number denoting more than one may be considered as a unit, in which case the number so considered is preceded by the substantive בֵּי house, family, body. *E. g.*, בֵּי תְּרִי, a body of two, three; two, three.

¹ Later forms are: הָדָא *Hal. Ged.* 206 (*bis*); תַּרְתִּין *ibid.* 399; תְּלַתָּה *three, Mach. Vitry* 119; תְּרִיסַר *Se'ett.* 109; תְּרִי סְרִי *ibid.* 116; תְּרִי סַר *Sa'are Tešabā,* § 172; תְּלִי סְרִי *ibid.*; שְׁבִיסַר *ibid.* 46; שְׁתַּסַּר *ibid.*; שְׁתִּי סַר *Hal. Ged.* 425, 595; שְׁתִּי עֶשְׂרִי *Hal. Pes.* § 39; תְּמַסַּר *ibid.* 146 (*bis*); תְּמַנִּי עֶשְׂרִי *ibid.* 253; תְּמַסַּר *Mach. Vitry* 4; תְּמַסִּי *fifty, H. G.* 452 (*bis*).

REFERENCES: **בִּי תֵּרִי** frequent; **בֵּיתֵרִי** Col. MSS.; **בִּי תֵּרִין** *two*, Sanh. 95 *a*; **בִּי תִלְתָּא** *three*, Sanh. 8 *a*; **בִּי אַרְבָּעָה** *four*, Šebu. 42 *a*; **בִּי חֲמִשָּׁה** *five*, Yeb. 101 *b*; **בִּי עֶשְׂרֵה** *ten*, Er. 30 *a*, Sôtā 38 *b*; **בִּי עֶשְׂרִין וּתְלָתָא** *twenty-three*, Sanh. 8 *a*; **בִּי מֵאָה** *a hundred*, Ber. 50 *a*, Yeb. 88 *a*.¹

§ 144. **בִּי תֵּרִי** *two* takes pronominal suffixes to express determination, in which case it expands its form to **תֵּרִין**.² Thus, **וְתֵרִין** *we both*, Šebu. 37 *b*; **תֵּרִיןכֶּם** *you both*, B. Q. 60 *b*; **תֵּרִיןהֶם** *they both*, Keth. 83 *b*; **תֵּרִיןהִיא** Hull. 45 *b*; **תֵּרִיןהִי** Col. MS., M. Q. 31 *a*.³

§ 145. Luzzatto's remark (*op. cit.* § 63), that the compound numbers in **סָרִי** are of rare occurrence, I cannot confirm. They occur as frequently as those in **סָר**, if not oftener. It must, however, be noticed that the masculine and feminine forms are sometimes used promiscuously. Whether such a confusion in the use of the genders is original, or is only due to later copyists, is, on account of the lack of ancient MSS., hard to decide.

§ 146. Now and then we meet with numerals taken from other languages. They are used in homiletical etymologies and as illustrations of special points in Halacha. Thus, Ber. 56 *b*, the name Cappadocia is explained **כַּפָּא פְּשֻׁרָא דִּיקָא עֶשְׂרֵה**. "Kappa" means *beam*, "dika" means *ten* (δέκα). Er. 18 *a* **דִּיּוֹ** (δύο) *two*, *twice*. Naz. 8 *b* **שְׁלֹשָׁה טְרִיגֹן שְׁתַּיִם טְרִיגֹן** *Symmachos says: εἷς means one, δύο two, τρίγωνος three, τετραγώνιον four, πεντάγωνος five (fold)*. B. B. 164 *b* **הֵיאָה**, *éva, one*. M. Q. 28 *a* 'Ēn Ya'akōb ed. princ. **אֵין** id. 'Ar. Sanh. 89 *a* the Persian numeral **هزار** 1000, occurs in the Persian phrase **כֶּאֱר הָזֶה גִּינָא** *an ass of a thousand colors*.

B. Ordinals.—§ 147. Sing. masc. **קַמְאָה**, **קַמְאָה**, **קַמְאָה** (Ned. 40 *a*, 51 *a*); fem. **קַמְיָתָא**, **קַמְיָתָא**; plur. masc. **קַמְאִי**, fem. **קַמְיָתָא** *first*.

¹ In later literature: **בִּתְרִי** HG. 364, 489; **בִּתְלָתָא** *ibid.* 62, 65; **בִּתְלָתָא** *ibid.* 489, 490; **בִּתְלָתָא** *ibid.* 501.

² Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 4.

³ In later literature: **תֵּרִיןהֵם** HG. 282; **תֵּרִיןהֵם** *they three*, *ibid.* 61; **תֵּרִיןהֵם** *they four*, *ibid.* 398. For the **דָּש** in these forms, cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 49, and Kautzsch, *Gram. d. Bibl.-Aram.*, § 63, 1, n. 1.

§148. Sing. masc. תַּנְיִנָּה (Ned. 21 *a*, 63 *a*), תַּנְיִנָּתָא ('Ar. Gitt. 6 *a*), *second*; תַּלְיִתָּא, תַּלְיִתָּאָה *third*; רְבִיעָאָה *fourth*; שְׁבִיעָאָה *seventh*, Nidd. 67 *b*; עֲשִׂירָאָה *tenth*. Plur. fem. רְבִיעֵיתָה *fourth*.¹

§149. The expression קָמָא קָמָא (Gitt. 12 *b*, B. B. 97 *a*, Pes. 7 *a*) corresponds to the later Hebrew רָאשׁוֹן רָאשׁוֹן, meaning *by and by, by degrees, gradually, successively*. Plur. masc. קָמָאִי, Pes. 7 *a*.²

§150. Sabb. 31 *b*, 88 *a*, Ar. 13 *a*, תַּלְיִתָּא is used in the sense of *triple*.

§151. *a*. Like the ordinals are used a number of other numeral adjectives:—Sing. masc. אַחֲרִינָּא *another*; אַחֲרִינָּתָא, Col. MS. Pes.; אַחֲרִינָּא *TF.*, p. 11; fem. אַחֲרִיתָא, אַחֲרִיתָי, אַחֲרִינָּתָא (R. H. 18 *b*), אַחֲרִינָּתָא (Yeb. 64 *b*) אַחֲרִיתָי (Col. MS. Pes.), אַחֲרִי (Qid. 47 *a*, B. M. 15 *a*, *a. e.*).—Plur. masc. אַחֲרִינִי, אַחֲרִינִי (Col. MS. Pes.) אַחֲרִינִי, *TF.*, p. 12, אַחֲרִינִי, *ibid.* 17; fem. אַחֲרִינִיתָא (Ned. 20 *b*, 22 *a*).

b. Sing. masc. בְּתַרְאָה, בְּתַרְאָ; fem. בְּתַרְיָתָא, בְּתַרְיָתָ; plur. masc. בְּתַרְאָ; fem. בְּתַרְיָתָ *the last, the latter*.—תְּרִי כְּסִי בְּתַרְאָ *the last two cups*, Pes. 108 *b*; לְבַתְרָאִי דְּאִתּוּ בְּתַרְדָּה *to my successors (descendants) who are to come after thee*, A. Z. 10 *b*.

C. Fractional Numbers.—§152. Fractional numbers are expressed partly by separate nominal formations, partly by various constructions of the cardinals. The separate formations are: תַּלְתָּאִי, תַּלְתָּא, תּוֹלְתָּא (*Sabb.* 87 *a*, ed. Sonc.) $\frac{1}{3}$; פְּלִגָּא, פְּלִגָּי, פְּלִגָּי (B. M. 77 *a*) $\frac{1}{2}$; שְׁתִּיתָא, שְׁתִּיתָא $\frac{1}{4}$; חֲמִישָׁא, חֲמִישָׁא $\frac{1}{5}$; שְׁתִּיתָא, שְׁתִּיתָא $\frac{1}{6}$.

§153. תַּלְתָּא חֲמִישָׁי $\frac{3}{5}$, Sukk. 32 *b*; תַּלְתָּא פְּלִגָּי $\frac{3}{2}$, Sabb. 34 *b*; תַּלְתָּא רְבִיעֵי $\frac{3}{4}$ *ibid.*; תַּלְתָּא תַּלְתִּי $\frac{3}{3}$, תְּרִי תַּלְתִּי $\frac{2}{3}$, *ibid.* 35 *a*; פְּלִגְהוֹן חֲמִישָׁי *fifths*, Tem. 27 *a*; פְּלִגְהוֹן *the half of them*, B. B. 8 *a*.³

§154. In Syriac a difference of spelling exists in the word ܬܠܬܐ, the second ܬ being spirantic when it means *three years*

¹ In later literature: Sing. fem. תַּנְיִנָּתָא, *HG.* 250; תַּנְיִנָּתָא, *MV.* 101; תַּלְיִתָּא, *HG.* 250; רְבִיעֵיתָא, רְבִיעֵיתָא *MV.* 101; תַּנְיִנָּתָא *HG.* 379; עֲשִׂירָאָה *ibid.*—Masc. תַּנְיִנָּתָא *ibid.* 618; שְׁבִיעָאָה *ibid.*; תַּלְיִתָּא *ibid.*; תַּנְיִנָּתָא *ibid.* 620. The ninth must have been תַּנְיִנָּתָא*, תַּנְיִנָּתָא.

² Cf. Luzzatto, *op. cit.*, § 64. and Dalman, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

³ In later literature: תַּלְתָּא $\frac{1}{3}$, *HG.* 127; חֲמִישָׁא $\frac{1}{5}$, *ibid.* 487.

בְּהֵרִיךְ (Col. MS., Pes. 96 a) *wherever, in all cases where*.—*instead*.—הֵתָם *there, in that case*.—תָּם, תַּמָּן *there*.—לְעֵיל, מֵעֵיל, *above, upward, on top, supra*.—מֵתָּחַת, *beneath, below, ahead, further, infra*.—מֵלָרֶגֶת (Sabb. 92 a), מֵתָּחַת (Bekh. 8 b), לְתוֹחָא (M. MS., Bēcā 15 a), לְתַתָּא (B. B. 45 a), לְתַתָּא (B. Q. 23 b), מֵתָּחַת *beneath, underneath, down, below* (§§ 82, 158).¹

§ 158. With the forms in אָה, אָה, some such word as נָה is to be understood. On לְעֵיל, לְתַתָּא, see above, § 82. The א in אָה, אָה is prothetic. הָהֵם, הָהֵם are compounds of הָהֵם and הָהֵם, Hebr. שָׁם, and פָּה, Hebr. פֹּה, respectively. In תַּמָּן and לְקַמָּן (= לְ + קָדָם) we have the demonstrative element יָ. The reading of the latter לְקַמָּן and not with Levy לְקַמָּן is warranted by tradition, supported by the vocalization of the Col. MSS., and has its analogies in our idiom. In אָהָה we have a compound of אָה (= עַל) and אָהָה; הָהֵם, הָהֵם consist of פָּה and הָהֵם, respectively. In מֵתָּחַת (= מֵתָּחַת) and לְתוֹחָא (לְ + תוֹחָא) we have syncope of הָ.

Adverbs of Time.—§ 159. אָהֵר, אָהֵר, Col. MS. *while, when, when not yet*.—אָהֵר, אָהֵר, אָהֵר (Col. MS., Meg. 16 a vocalizes אָהֵר, אָהֵר), *meanwhile, in the meantime*.—הָאָהֵר, הָאָהֵר (= הָהֵם + אָהֵר), *now, this time, nowadays*.—אָהֵר (Col. MS., Meg. 12 a vocalizes אָהֵר), *when*.—כָּל אָהֵר *whenever, as long as, as often as*.—אָהֵר, אָהֵר, אָהֵר (Col. MS.) *still, yet, even now*.—מֵן אָהֵר, מֵן אָהֵר (Ned. 4 b, Raši, *ibid.*, has מֵן אָהֵר), *on the spot, at once*.—אָהֵר (= אָהֵר + אָהֵר + prothetic א) *last year*.—לְאַחֵר, לְאַחֵר, *after, later on*.—בֵּינֵי בֵּינֵי *in the meanwhile*.—הָאָהֵר, הָאָהֵר, הָאָהֵר (Col. MS., Zeb. 32 a, with apocope of הָ and change of הָ to א), *lit. when it was done, ex post facto*.—הָהֵם *already, since*.—הָהֵם *now, at present*.—זֶמְנָן *sometimes*.—אָהֵר *yesterday*.—לְיוֹמָהָרָא (Col. MS., Zeb. 84 a), לְיוֹמָהָרָא (B. M. 17 a), לְיוֹמָהָרָא (*ibid.* H. MS.), לְיוֹמָהָרָא (*ibid.* ed. Ven.), לְיוֹמָהָרָא (*ibid.* F. MS.), *after-to-morrow*.—כָּה, כָּה, *when*.—כָּה *now; when he*.—כָּה *since, as*

¹ הֵתָם *here*, HG. 471 (bis); אָהֵר *where*, *ibid.* 63, 69, a. e.; לְתַתָּא, *ibid.* 315.

² The statement of the dictionaries that אָהֵר occurs only with לְ is to be corrected accordingly.

soon as.—כָּמִיָּה דִּי (Yômā 13 a, Sabb. 119 a), כָּל כָּמִיָּה דִּי, until, as long as.—לְמָחָר to-morrow.—דִּי (Col. MS., Zeb. 6 a) during, while, meanwhile, before, when not yet.—לְעַלְמָא (Gitt. 85 b, legal style) forever.—מִן קְדָמִית דְּנָא, מִקְדָּמִית דְּנָא at first, from the start.—בְּרִישָׁא (legal style), formerly.—אֶתְרִישׁ at first, heretofore.—אִתְרִישׁ again, anew, moreover, yet more, further, besides.¹

Adverbs of Manner.—§ 160. אֵיבְרָא verily, indeed.—אֲדִרְבָּה [(= א' + ד' + רָבָה = עַל)] (turn to the stronger side. I rest my argument upon what is superior; on the other side is a stronger claim) on the contrary.—אֲנָב אֲוִרְהָא by the way, apropos.—אֲנָב גִּירָא incidentally, occasionally.—אֲוִתִּיאֹס, אֲוִתִּיאֹס (εἰθέως) quickly, rapidly, soon.—דִּיא in case when.—בְּאַלְכִסְוִנָא crosswise. הָדֵר bustrophedon; בְּהָדֵר, לְהָדֵר openly, explicitly.—הָדֵר again, אֲדֵר (TF. 2, 14 a and frequently), הָדֵר (Col. MS., Pes. 110 a), so, thus.—דִּיקָא expressly, distinctly, only.—דִּיא (Ber. 5 b) certainly, surely, rightly, with good reason.—[אֲדֵר, אֲדֵר, proper].—[טָבִית, יָאִית], בְּיָטֵב, well.—פְּדִי for nought, in vain, for no purpose.²—לְהוֹדֵר, לְהוֹדֵר (B. Q. 38 a), בְּאִנְשֵׁי נַפְשָׁא, בְּאִנְשֵׁי נַפְשָׁא, separately, alone, for oneself.—לְכַאֲוִרָה at first sight, apparently.—פְּלִפְלִיָּא, פְּלִפְלִיָּא לִיָּה, פְּלִפְלִיָּא לִיָּה (MSS. K., M., Zeb. 82 a) just the reverse.—מִנֵּן gratis.—מִמֵּילָא, Col. MS., Pes. (voc.), מִמֵּילָא (§§ 77, 90) of itself.—הִנְחָא, הִנְחָא (Col. MS., Meg. 2 b), granted it is right, it would be right.—סָחוּר round about.—מִסְתַּמְנָא (§ 23) presumably, probably, I dare say.—בְּעִלְמָא plainly, simply, merely, only.—אֶפְרָקִיד supinely.—קָא, קָא, קָא, a particle used generally with the participle to form the present (§ 66).—טִישִׁר well.³

§ 161. הִנְחָא is formed of הָא this, and of the passive participle of הִנֵּחַ, of הִנֵּחַ, of הִנֵּחַ let it be, and the active participle of

¹ In later literature: הִנְחָא וְהִנְחָא, HG. 100; כָּל הִנְחָא (= כל אימת), ibid. 164; אֲשִׁיתִי, ibid. 456; לְדַבְּבֵתִי, ibid. 63; כְּעֵין (legal style) ibid. 315; הִיאָבָא, TG. ed. Harkavy, § 161.

² According to some כְּרִי is a shortened form of כְּרִיב; according to Luzzatto (פניני שד"ל, p. 305 sq.) it is a contraction of כָּא + דִּי + הִיא as it is.

³ In later literature: בְּרִישׁ verily, indeed, Šo'el. 1; הִנֵּחַ thus, so, HG. 86, 103; בְּחָדֵר, HG. 29; לְחָדָא separately, MV. 32; כְּחָדָא together, ibid.; מִרְיָא more, TG., ed. Harkavy, passim; cf. for the latter Noeldeke, NSG. 159. לְאִנְשָׁא (= לְאִנְשָׁא) HG. 403.

said verb; it occurs also in the form **הַתִּינָה**. The above and **בְּשִׁלְמָא** are synonymous. The latter is used in reference to a superior sort of authority (*e. g.* of Scripture) as compared with that indicated by the use of the former. Note the expression **בְּרֵי הָכִי** *such a one, such a fellow*.

Adverbs of Quantity.—§ 162. **אִינְגַד** (Gittin, 58 a) according to Raši, *ad. loc.* = **בְּצִיר** *a little*.—**טַב**, **טוֹבָא** *a good deal, much*.—**בִּיתִירָתָא**, **וְתִיר** *more*.—**טַרְיָה**, **טַרְיָא**, *more*.—**לְגַמְרִי** *entirely*.—**פְּלֵ פְמָה ד־** **פְּלֵי הָא**, *lit. all this* *so much!*—**פְּלֵ פְמָה ד־** **פְּלֵ פְמָה ד־** (Col. MS., M. Q. 6 a), *as much as*.—**פְּמָה** *how much, how many!* **טַרְיָה** **ד־** *the more the more*: R. H. 26 b, **פְּמָה דְכִינָה אִינְשִׁי דְעִתִּיהָ טַרְיָה מַעְלֵי** *the more one bends his mind the better it is*.—**פְּלֵ דְהוּ** *the least possible quantity, whatsoever*.—**פְּמָה דְאִפְשָׁר** *as much as possible*.—**פּוֹרְתָא** *a little, a trifle*.—**קַלִּיל**, **קָלִי** *a little*.—**רַבָּא** *much, very much*.

Interrogative Adverbs.—§ 163. **אִימַת**, **אִימַת** (Col. MS.) *when?*—**אִינְ** *is it really so?*—**אֲדֵהָא** *to which does this refer?*—**לְאַיִי** *for what purpose?*—**לְאַיִי** (+ **הָא**), *whither?* (TF., p. 26).—**הֵי**, **הֵיכָא**¹ (Col. MS.), *where?*—**לְהֵיכָא** *whither?*—**הוּ כִי**, **הֵיכָא** *whence?*—**מֵנָּה**, **מֵנָּה**, **מֵנָּה** *whence?*—**הֵיכָא** (MS., Vat. 117, B. M. 67 b), **הֵיכָא**, *how?*—**אָטוּ**, **מֵינָּה**², **מֵינָּה** (in questions expressing surprise or indignation) *do you mean to say? is it because? how!? what!?*—**אִי** (Ned. 3 a), **מִי**, **וּמִי**, **וְכִי**, *num?*—**מִי** *nonne?*—**לְמָה**, **לְמָה**, **אֲלֵמָה**, **אֲמַאי**, *why, wherefore?*—**לֵי**, **לֵי**, **לֵי**, *a particle of doubtful character*. See Kohut, *Aruch. Compl.* s. v.

§ 164. On the punctuation of **מֵנָּה** see above (§ 90). It is the apocopated form of **מֵנָּה**, which latter is a compound of **מֵן** + **נָה**. It is joined to the following word, forming a compound. Thus, **מֵנָּה מֵנָּה** *whence have we this?* (*Zeb. 8 b, Naz. 48 b, a. e.*) **מֵנָּה מֵנָּה** *whence has he this?* (*Col. MSS.*) **מֵנָּה מֵנָּה** *whence have you these things?*

§ 165. **מִי** and **כִּי** are generally preceded by a **ו**. The former introduces nominal sentences, the latter verbal. **מִי** or **וּמִי**, usually stands immediately before the verb. If the verb be preceded by a negative, **מִי** is often inserted between the negative

¹ **אֵיכָא**. HG. 63. 69.

² Cf. Stübgen, *Jüd. Babyl. Zaubertexte*, p. 58.

and the verb.¹ לֹא מִי (Sabb. 68 *b*), לֹא מִי (Pes. 102 *a*; M. MS., Er. 20 *b*; Sabb. 32 *a*; B. M. 32 *a*, a. e.).

§ 166. Note the following idiomatic expression: . . . לֹא מִי לֹא . . . לֹא *couldn't we understand by it rather this? . . . No! it is rather.*—אֵימָת, הֵיכָא, הֵיכִי, and הֵי, are used also as relative adverbs. Some of the adverbs given here have at times the force of interrogative conjunctions and should more properly be called interrogative particles.

Affirmative Adverbs.—§ 167. אֵית, אֵיתָא,² אֵיפָא (= אֵית + פָּא) *there is*; אֵי, אֵי (so Col. MSS.) *yes*, (= Hebrew הֵן). In one instance אֵית takes verbal form: אֵיתוּ אֵינּוּ *we are*, Pes. 50 *a*. Cf. II. Targūm to Esther 2, 18 אֵיתוּ *they are*.

Negative Adverbs.—§ 168. לֵית (= אֵית + לֹא), לֵיתָא, *there is not, is not*; לֵיפָא (= לֵית + פָּא) *id.*; לֹא, לֹא (לֹא + הִיא) *is not, not, no*. לֹא is generally used with verbs, לֹא with nouns.

Adverbs of Doubt.—§ 169. דִּילָבָא, דִּילָבָא (דִּיל + בָּא + לֹא cf. Hebrew שְׁלֵבָה, later שָׁמָא) *perhaps*; אִפְשָׁר, Col. MS., vocal. אִפְשָׁר *perhaps, it may be, possibly*.

PREPOSITIONS.

A. Inseparable Prepositions.—§ 170. ׀ is an abbreviation of ׀ = ׀ and is used in all the significations and constructions of the latter. It is used also before gutturals: Men. 34 *a*, ׀אָאָאָאָ, Keth. 40 *b*, a. e. אָאָאָ.—Notice the force of the preposition after הֵוָה *to become, happen, befall*, in the standing phrase הֵוָה הֵוָה ׀אָ, lit. *something that happened with . . . , this is something like . . .* The expression is used to introduce an analogical case as an illustration to a previous statement of opinion on some legal point under discussion.

§ 171. בִּי, בִּי, בִּי, בִּי, בִּי, is used as in the Targumim and Hebrew. A few examples of some rare usages may be mentioned. רִישׁ גִּזְעָא בִּי בִּי בִּי *the top of the small intestines must be scraped up to a cubit's length*, Hull. 93 *a*; רַב פְּקֻדֵי קָרָא *Rabh read as a priest*, Meg. 22 *a*, i. e., was called up the first to read the weekly lesson from the Pentateuch. וְאַתְּהוּ בִּי בִּי *and yet these are the most beautiful of the people*

¹ The verb in this case includes the participle, but not the infinitive.

² In אֵיתָא, לֵיתָא the ending may be = הֵן, but cf. Noeldke, *MG.*, § 213.

of *Māhōzā*. R. H. 17 a. וַיִּפֹּל בְּתוֹכָם and he dropped torn in two. בְּתוֹכָם, בְּשֵׁשָׁרָא, in the presence of three, of ten, Ber. 56 b, fr. Cf. also below (§ 174). The ׀ is found in the Talmud also in a separate form “בִּי.”

§ 172. כִּי, כֵּן, כִּי, like.—לֵ, לִ, לֵ, to, unto; generally *nota accusativi*.—מִן, מִן, from.

§ 173. To the Palestinian R. Jōhānān we owe the single example of the use of לֵ with oaths as a particle of asseveration, as in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Assyrian.¹

Separate Prepositions.—§ 174. אַפִּי (§ 28) upon, on. אַפִּי כְּסִיכָא upon a chair; אַפִּי יְדֵיהֶם upon their hands, Sanh. 17 a.² אַפְתִּיר (= אֶל + פֶּתִיר), cf. פֶּתִיר.

אֲנֵב (= אֶל + גֵּב) on, upon; by dint of, by the way of, on account of.

אַחֲרֵי behind, backward.

אֲשֵׁי on account of, for the sake of. The word is connected with Fellihî-Syriac ܐܝܬܝܐ, ܐܝܬܝܐ, ܐܝܬܝܐ, ܐܝܬܝܐ, and ܐܝܬܝܐ of other Syriac dialects.³

אַיִדִּי, אִידִּי, אִידִּי (A. Z. 15 a; Col. MS., Zeb. 35 b), by means of, through, by the way of. Cf. Hebrew עַל יָד.

אַמְטוּל, (אַמְטִי, אֲמִטִּי), אֲמִטוּלָא, אֲמִטוּלָא, for the sake of, on account of. The word is of doubtful etymology. The original form was evidently אֲמִטוּל, a compound of עַל + מִן + טוּל, which former may mean *shade, protection, burden, or going, passing*; cf. the Hebrew בְּעֶבְרָה, בְּגִלְלָה. In the expression אֲמִטוּל הָכִי the final ל of אֲמִטוּל is often attached to הָכִי and written אֲמִטִּי לְהָכִי. (M. V. 6 has אֲמִטִּי לְהָכִי).⁴

אַפִּי, אֲפִי, only with the prepositions לֵ and ׀ : אֲפִי לְאַפִּי toward, opposite; אֲפִי בְּאַפִּי in the presence of, before.

¹ Yômā 84 a, A. Z. 28 a, we are told how a woman did not wish to tell R. Jōhānān the formula of a medicine, unless he swore not to disclose it to others. He agreed to it and swore: לְאַתְרָא דְּיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא מְגַלִּינָא by the God of Israel, I shall not disclose it! He then went and gave away the secret to his audience in a lecture at college. When asked how he could break his oath, he answered: “I said ‘To the God of Israel I shall not disclose it;’ but not to the people of Israel.” He thus explained the לֵ casuistically as a mere *nota dativi*.

² אַפִּי in אַפִּי חֲדָתָא upon their bosom, Sanh. 17 a is a compound of אֶל upon and פִּי. In later literature: כִּי הָיוּ אַפִּי מִן כִּי הָיוּ אַפִּי מִן when we were at our lord's (at the house) Še'el. 77.

³ Cf. Sachau, *Skizze des Fellihî-Dialekts von Mosul*, p. 32, 37, 39. Maclean, *op. cit.* 187.

⁴ Cf. פִּי שׁוּרִי, p. 308 sq. But cf. אֲמִטִּי הָכִי TF. 2. בְּנִין. Respons. d. Lehrer d. Ost. u. Westens, ed. Müller, § 122.

בְּדִל *on account of*. Only Yôma, 75 b.

בֵּי *within, in, by, etc.*, is the separate form of the preposition בְּ.¹ The traditional pronunciation of it as בֵּי is due to a confusion with בֵּי *between, house*.

בֵּי, בֵּינָה, בֵּינָה, בֵּינָה, *between, among*. Keth. 28 a, M. MS., Sabb. 110 a, בֵּינָה; (H. G. 339 בֵּינָה); (בֵּינָה). Notice: בֵּינָה, Col. MS., Meg. 12 ab (voc.).

בְּלֹא, בְּלֹא, *without*.

לְבַר גַּר, לְבַר גַּר, *except, save, besides*.

בְּאַחֵר, בְּאַחֵר, *after, behind*.

לְגַבִּי, לְגַבִּי, *near, at, to, with, in case of, toward*.

בְּ, בְּ, constr. st. בְּ, generally with לְ, בְּ and בְּ, לְגַבִּי, לְגַבִּי, *into, amidst*; בְּגַבִּי *in, within, amongst, amidst*; מִגַּבִּי *from, out*.

דִּבְּרָא *like, similar, analogous to*.

לְהָדָר, only with בְּ or לְ: בְּהָדָר *with, by*; לְהָדָר *unto, to, toward*. The singular form occurs but seldom: לְהָדָר, A. Z. 28 b.

חֲלָה *instead, in place of*.

רַת *nota accusativi*. This is very rare in the Babylonian Talmud. רַתָּה *him*, Ned. 49 a; רַתָּה *her, it*, eds. Ned. 50 b; רַתְּכוֹן *you*, Ber. 38 a; רַתְּיָכוֹן Nidd. 61 a; רַתְּהוֹן *them*, Ned. 25 a, 41 a, B. M. 90 b, a. e.²

כְּמִי *like*; כְּמִי *like me*, Col. MS., M. Q. 2 b; כְּמִי *like me*, *ibid.* Pes. 105 b (§ 110); כְּמִי *like us*, B. B. 65 a.

כִּי, (= כ + ד) *like*. כִּי הַשָּׂמָיָה *now* (Sabb. 119 a) = Hebr כִּי. — כִּי כְּלָבָא *like that of a dog*, ed. Const. Sanh. 96 a.

כְּגוֹן (= כ + גוֹן) *like, similar to, for example*.

¹ M. Lambert, *REJ.* XXII., 129-131 finds this form of the preposition also in Biblical Hebrew.

² In later literature the older form רַת has been preserved: רַתְּיָכוֹן *thee* (f.) *TG.* ed. Harkavy, § 15. Cf. also Noeldeke, *SG.*, 199, note 1, and Lagarde, *Mittheil.*, I., 226. I. H. Weiss (*Zur Gesch. d. jüd. Trad.*, II., 138, note 1), justly observes that the fact that the Biblical Aramaic never uses רַת as *nota accusativi* except once with a pronominal suffix (Dan. 3, 12) would go to prove that the use of this particle is a Hebraism with Onkelos — and, we may add, with all other Aramaic languages where its use is found — who intended to give by its adoption a basis for the exercise of R. Akiba's hermeneutic rule that every *nota accusativi* implies an inclusion of some additional case, identifying, of course, רַת with רַת. The entire want of this particle in the Mandaic — an idiom outside of the sphere of Jewish influences — is the best proof of Mr. Weiss's supposition.

³ Some scholars see the same use of כִּי also in Biblical Hebrew. Cf. Dubsowitz, *He-Böcher 'Or*, V, 265-272, and M. Lambert, *REJ.* XXII., 129-131.

כְּלָפֵי (= **לְ** + **אֲפִי**) *toward, in the direction of, with regard to.*
לְוֹת *to, unto.* M. Q. 9 b, **לְוֹתֶיךָ** *to thee.* B. M. 62 b, **לְוֹתִי**
to me. Very rare.

לְפִנֵּי (Hebrew **לִפְנֵי**) *according to.* Palestinian **מִיַּחֲמַת** *in consequence of, through.*

מִן, **מִי** (M. MS., Men. 65 a), *from, out, of.*

מִשּׁוּם *because of, on account of.*

נִיְהִלְהָ *to, unto.*

עַד *until, till.* **עַד הֵן** *instead of.* Usually contracted to **אֲדֵי**.

עַל *on, upon.*

עַל יְדֵא *through, by means of* (Ar. 16 b).

עָלָא, **עִילָא**, *on, upon.*

עֲלֵי *on, upon,* Hull. 8 b, Sabb. 156 b, a. e. (§§ 41, 181).

לְעֵילָא מִן *above, beyond, higher than, before* (Sabb. 30 a, Raši, a. e.).

עִם *with.* In the Talmud the word is used only in legal style; but it is found frequently in Še'el. and Hal. Ged.

לְקַבֵּל, **לְקַבֵּלָא**, *opposite, against, before.* B. B. 111 a; Tam. 32 a. (Palestinian.)

קִדְמָא, **לְקִדְמָא**, **מִן קִדְמָא**, *before.* Sabb. 30 b; 67 a; Gitt. 85 b. (Palestinian.)

קִדְמָא, **קִדְמִי**, **בְּקִדְמִי**, *before, in the presence of, for.* Ar. 31 b, **קִדְמָא דְּדָוִד** *before thee.*¹ The word is generally used as an expression of politeness before names of persons in authority.

תַּחְתִּי, **תַּחְתֵּי**, *beneath, below, under; instead, in place of* (A. Z. 10 a).

§ 175. **בֵּין בֵּין** means: *both this and that.* **בֵּין לְמִי** *according to the opinion of the one as well as to that of the other.*

§ 176. **בֵּין** is of rare use, and almost entirely limited to the pronominal suffixes, the apocopated form being used before nouns, Note the expressions **מִיֵּינִיהּ מִיֵּינִיהּ** *out of it, yea, of it, i. e., of the very thing.*—**מִיֵּינִיהּ וּבִיהּ**, *the same.*—**לֹא כָּל כְּמִיֵּינִיהּ** *he is not able.* The expression is probably originally an ironical question, *Is everything so as if coming from him, by his authority?*

¹ Še'el. **מִקִּדְמֵיהּ** *from before them.* H. G. 100, **לְקִדְמֵיהּ** *for her; ibid.* 387. **קִדְמִי פְּלָנָא** *for a half.*

[illegible]

§ 181. עָלָא is little used with prepositions: עָלֵי־הָאָרֶץ Qidd. 8*b*; עָלֵיהֶּא Ber. 56*a*; עָלֵיהֶּא חָקַרְתָּהּ search it, Sir! Ned. 50*a*.² Instead of עָלָא we find usually עָלֵי, which Col. MS., Pes. 93*b*, writes and vocalizes אֶל־עָלֵי. Notice also the by-form עָלֵיךְ O. MS., Sabb. 105*b*, a. e.; עָלֵיךְ upon him, B. B. 12*b* (אֶל־=עָלֵי).

CONJUNCTIONS.

§ 182. **וְאִם** *but, however*, a Hebraism. **וְאִם** *or, if, whether*. **וְאִם-וְאִם** *either . . . or, whether . . . or*. **וְאִם** *if, whether* (§ 183). **וְאִם . . . וְאִם** *I grant if you were to say . . . then it would be right*. **וְאִם . . . וְאִם** *either . . . or, whether . . . or*. **וְאִם** *or, even if*.

אֲדָה, אֲדָה, אֲדָה, *since, as, because.*

אִי־יָדָה (= אִי־יָדָה), used like אִי־יָדָה or אִי־יָדָה q. v.—M. MS. and ed.
Pesaro, A. Z. 55 a.

וְעַתָּה, וְעַתָּה, וְעַתָּה³ (2 M. MS., Yôm. 30 b), *now, then, pray*, an exhortative and precative particle used with the imperative. For וְעַתָּה instead of וְעַתָּה cf. § 31.

וְ, a particle introducing direct speech = Hebr. וְ; found only in legal style.

אִיפֹה (H. MS., B. M. 73b), אִיפֹה (Sabb. 152b), אִיפֹה (Yômâ 57a, Yalq. MS.) is a compound of אִי if and פֹה here, now, q. u., and is etymologically identical with Ethiopic 'enka. Generally used in the phrase אִיפֹה הַשָּׂתָה if now! oh that! with the protasis or apodosis sometimes unexpressed.

¹ לֶרֶךְ, *TG*. ed. Harkavy, §535.

² Cf. the German expression: sich über Etwas hermachen.

³ *HG.* 187, *ibid.* 104, 183.—**אִירֵי**, akin to **אִירֵי**, **אִירֵי**, and the Hebrew **אִירֵי**.
in **הִיבָא אִירֵי אֶתְכִיד** *how, now, shall I act?* *HG.* 410. This may, however, be identical
with **אִירֵי**, both meanings being possible with the latter form, as Ethiopic 'enka and our
כִּי show.

אִינִי, אִינִי, אִינִי (Col. MS., Zeb. 6 a) *if not, but, except, only*. Compare Latin *nisi*, Italian *se non*, אִינִי... אִינִי *only; cf.* the French *ne ... que*.

אִינִי *if, a Hebraism.*

אִינִי, אִינִי (Col. MSS.), *consequently.*

אִינִי, אִינִי, אִינִי, *if in any way not, if not, but for, if indeed.*

אִינִי *also; generally* אִינִי... אִינִי *also, even.* אִינִי... אִינִי... אִינִי *as ... so.*⁴

אִינִי, אִינִי *even if, even, a Hebraism.*

אִינִי אִינִי אִינִי *notwithstanding, although, though.*

אִינִי אִינִי אִינִי *nevertheless, a Hebraism.*

אִינִי or אִינִי (§ 31) *so that, that, in order that; for, since.*

אִינִי *for, because.*

אִינִי *lest, perhaps.*

אִינִי *then, of course, for sooth; but, is not it! this means to say; but.* Often אִינִי,

אִינִי *since, because, a Hebraism.*

אִינִי, אִינִי, אִינִי (Col. MSS.) *therefore* (= אִינִי + אִינִי + אִינִי). אִינִי, or אִינִי).

אִינִי אִינִי *is that so now? well!*

אִינִי *since, when, if,* אִינִי, see אִינִי and אִינִי.

אִינִי *and, but.* Often introducing a question: *but, is it indeed so?*

There are also traces of the אִינִי consecutive. *Cf., e. g.,* אִינִי אִינִי *and let her be freed, Yeb. 19 a.*

אִינִי is used in peculiar way with אִינִי *is of opinion, אִינִי, אִינִי, without having any apparent force.*⁵

אִינִי *when, (= אִינִי + אִינִי).*

אִינִי, אִינִי, אִינִי, a postpositive particle having the force of אִינִי and of אִינִי. M. MS., Sabb. 4 a אִינִי אִינִי *and he did not recollect whom they had allowed.* Qidd. 48 a אִינִי.

¹ אִינִי, HG. 406; אִינִי or not (= אִינִי + אִינִי) HG. 456. On the change of o to e cf. Haupt, AEF., 22.

² For its etymology see Jastrow's *Diction.* s. v.

³ On this word see R. Duval, *RÉJ.* IV., 268-273; M. Lambert, *ibid.* IX., 290-301; M. Jastrow, *ibid.* XI., 157-158; Halóvy, *מחברת*, p. כא.

⁴ In later literature we find the Persian אִינִי used for אִינִי in the phrase אִינִי אִינִי *cf. TG.*, ed. Harkavy, Index, s. v., and *Letter of Sam. ha-Nagid* II. 68, אִינִי אִינִי, read: אִינִי אִינִי. The word is also found in Neo-Syriac; cf. Sachau, *op. cit.*, p. 38, Maclean, *op. cit.*, 161.

⁵ See on this אִינִי: Geiger, *Lehrbuch zur Sprache der Mishna*, § 23, 2; and Sachau, *Skizze*, etc., p. 45.

read: **בְּמַאי כִּי** *wherewith then, etc.*? Id. M. MS., Taan. 7 *b*, H. MS., B. M. 67 *b*. MS. Vat. 117, B. M. 67 *b* **כִּי הֵי כֵּן** *how then?* M. MS., R. R. 29 *a* **כִּי מֵאֵן** *who then?* B. B. 10 *a* **כִּי הִשְׁתָּא** *ibid.* M. MS. **כִּי הִשְׁתָּא** *ibid.* H. and R. MSS. **כִּי הִשְׁתָּא**. B. B. 111 *a* **כִּי הִשְׁתָּא**; M. Q. 26 *a*, eds. id. and frequent in MSS. Cf. Ethiopic *kā, kē*.¹

כִּי (shortened from **כִּי־**, or **כִּי־** . . . **כִּי**) *if, when*. B. Q. 84 *b*, a. e. **כִּי לֹא** *if not, not*.

כִּי הֵיכֵן (TF. 6) *so that, in order that*.—**כִּי הֵיכֵן דִּלָּא** *lest*.²

כִּי־ (פִּי־ *דִּי*) M. MS., B. M. 39 *a*) *as soon as, after, since*.³ **כִּי־** *since*.

כִּי־ (מִן + *גַּד*) *in case, since, supposing*.

כִּי־ *from the fact that, since*.

כִּי־, **כִּי־**, **כִּי־**, *but, yet, however, nevertheless*.⁴

כִּי־ *hence, it then follows*.

כִּי־ *before that, ere*.

כִּי־ *also, too, even*, frequently preceded by **אֵת**, *q. v.*⁵

§ 183. **אֵי** and **אִי** are often interchangeable so that, for instance, we may have **אֵי . . . אֵי**, **אִי . . . אִי**, **אֵי . . . אֵי**, **אִי . . . אִי**, promiscuously. Col. MS., Zeb. 2 *a* a. e., has **אֵי אִי־** for the usual **אֵי אִי־**; *if*, id., *ibid.* 4 *b*, 5 *a*; **אֵי אִי־** id., *ibid.* 5 *b*.

§ 184. **אֵי** is frequently contracted with the following word. This is especially the case with some standing expressions; as **אֵי־**, **אֵי־**, **אֵי־**. Col. MS., Zeb. 22 *b*, a. e., **אֵי־** for **אֵי־**.⁶

¹ In later literature: **מַאי כִּי אֵי־**, read: **מַאי כִּי אֵי־** *MF*. 5; **מַאי כִּי** *Letter of Sam. ha-Nagid*, טוב II., p. 65.

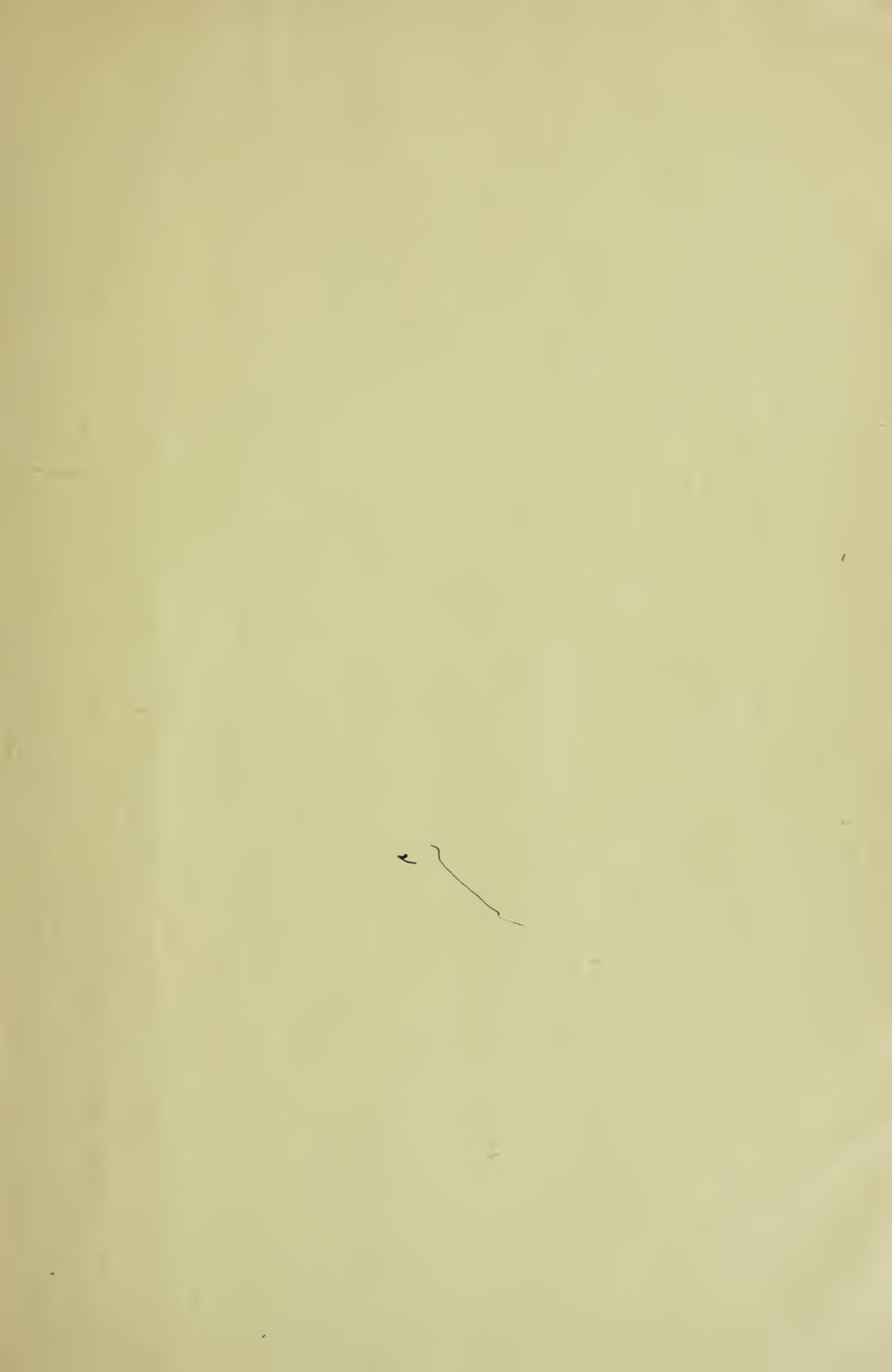
² In later literature: **כִּי הֵיכֵן דִּי** *HG.*, 63; **כִּי הֵיכֵן דִּי**, *ibid.* 24, 33; **כִּי הֵיכֵן דִּי**, *ibid.* 73; **כִּי הֵיכֵן דִּי**, 'Anān, quoted by Harkavy, *MWJ.*, 1893, p. 226.

³ **כִּי־**, *MF*. 11.

⁴ **כִּי־**, or **כִּי־**, *HG.* 473, 533. The word is a compound of the interrogative **מַי** and **הֵיכֵן**; cf. Jastrow, s. v.

⁵ According to Dalman, *Gram.*, p. 191, note 2, **נָמִי** is the first pers. sing. perf. of **נָמַי** *to speak*. The word is perhaps connected with 'Omanee Arabic **نَمِي** *also*, or with **نَمِي** *to increase*.

⁶ For suggestions about the etymologies of some of the adverbs, prepositions and conjunctions, cf. Jastrow's *Dictionary*; Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.* VIII., 180-90; Luzzatto's *Grammar*, and Lieberman's pamphlet mentioned in the Preface.



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